MOSES FLETCHER, died the first winter.	*	1
JOHN GOODMAN.		1
DEGORY PRIEST, died Jan. 1, 1620-1.	*	1
THOMAS WILLIAMS, died the first winter.	*	1
GILBERT WINSLOW, brother of Edward.		1
EDWARD MARGESON, died the first winter.	*	1
PETER BROWN.		1
RICHARD BRITTERIGE, died Dec. 21, 1620.	*	1
RICHARD CLARKE, died the first winter.	*	1
RICHARD GARDINER.		1
JOHN ALLERTON, (seaman,) died the first winter.	*	1
THOMAS ENGLISH, (seaman,) died the first winter.	*	1
Total,		101

The number of deaths of the first planters that occurred from the time the May Flower left England, to the year 1625, may be thus enumerated: —

In November, 1620,	1
In December, "	6
In January, 1620-1,	8
In February, "	17
In March, "	13
In April, 1621,	1
In May, "	1
From April 6 to November 9, 1621,	4
From November 9, 1621, to 1625,	0
Total,	51

Of these were, —		
Signers to the compact,		21
Wives of the signers,		13
Known members of families, viz: William Butten, Edward Thompson, Jasper, the boy, Solomon Martin, and Oceanus Hopkins,		5
Unknown members of the following families, viz:		
Of Carver's,	3	
Of Martin's,	1	
Of Mullins's,	2	
Of Edward Tilley's,	2	
Of John Tilley's,	1	
Of Tinker's,	1	
Of Turner's,	2	12
Total,		51

In the division of land in 1624, Henry Samson and Humilitie Cooper had land assigned them among those who came in the May Flower, and for this reason they have been generally believed to have been among the passengers of that vessel. If such is the case they can be placed in the family of Mr. Carver better than that of any other. But, as Mr. Cushman is also placed on that list, it may be reasonably inferred that others were put there for some other reasons, as perhaps Samson and Cooper, who are therefore excluded in this account.

John Goodman is marked in Bradford's manuscript as among those who died the first season. But as his name occurs among those who

WILLIAM WHITE, died Feb. 21, 1620-1. †*
Mrs. Susanna White, (his wife,) afterwards wife of Governor Winslow.
Resolved White, son of William.
William White, Jr., son of William.
Edward Thompson, died Dec. 4, 1620. * 5

RICHARD WARREN. ‡ 1

STEPHEN HOPKINS. †
Mrs. Elizabeth Hopkins, (his wife.)
Constance Hopkins, daughter of Stephen and also wife of Nicholas Snow.
Giles Hopkins, son of Stephen.
Caleb Hopkins, son of Stephen.
Oceanus Hopkins, son of Stephen, born at sea. *

EDWARD DOTEY.

EDWARD LEISTER. 8

EDWARD TILLEY, died the first winter. †*
Mrs. Tilley, (his wife,) died the first winter. *
Two others of this family died the first winter. * 4

JOHN TILLEY, died the first winter. †*
Mrs. Tilley, (his wife,) died the first winter. *
One other of this family died the first winter. * 3

FRANCIS COOKE. ‡
John Cooke, (called the younger,) son of Francis. 2

THOMAS ROGERS, died the first winter. *
Joseph Rogers, son of Thomas. 2

THOMAS TINKER, died the first winter. †*
Mrs. Tinker, (his wife,) died the first winter. *
One more of this family died the first winter. * 3

JOHN RIDGDALE, died the first winter. †*
Mrs. Ridgdale, (his wife,) died the first winter. * 2

EDWARD FULLER, died the first winter. †*
Mrs. Fuller, (his wife,) died the first winter. *
Samuel Fuller, (called the younger,) son of Edward. 3

JOHN TURNER, died the first winter. *
Two others of this family died the first winter. * 3

FRANCIS EATON. †
Mrs. Eaton, (his wife,) died before 1627.
Samuel Eaton, son of Francis. 3

JAMES CHILTON, died Dec. 8, 1620. †*
Mrs. Chilton, (his wife,) died the first winter. *
Mary Chilton, daughter of James and also wife of John Winslow, the brother of Edward. 3

JOHN CRACKSTON, died the first winter. *
John Crackston, Jr., son of John. 2

JOHN BILLINGTON. †
Mrs. Helen Billington, (his wife.)
Francis Billington, son of John.
John Billington, Jr., son of John. 4

future emigration, as he had done for that of those of the first passa This he did by procuring the Fortune, and sailing from London July, 1621, and arriving in New England on the 9th of November the same year. It is also highly probable that he obtained the oth early vessels, as he continued to be the agent of the Pilgrims till death, which occurred in England, just as he was ready to come spend the rest of his days in New England. In 1624, when the fir division of land for continuance took place, Mr. Cushman, although England, was placed at the head of the list of those who came in tl May Flower; an act of justice alike creditable to our forefathers an honorable to him.

The May Flower not only brought over the first of the Leyden Pilgrims, but also, in the year 1629, with four other vessels, transported Mr. Higginson and his company to Salem; and in 1630, was one of the fleet which conveyed to New England Mr. Winthrop and the early settlers of the Massachusetts Colony.

A vessel bearing this name was owned in England about fiftee years or more before the voyage of our forefathers; but it would b impossible to prove or disprove its identity with the renowned Ma Flower, however great such a probability might be. It is known, nevertheless, that this identical famous vessel afterwards hailed from various English ports, such as London, Yarmouth, and Southampton, and that it was much used in transporting emigrants to this country. What eventually became of it, and what was the end of its career, are equally unknown to history.

The following list of passengers is made up from various sources. By referring to the list of those who signed the compact at Cape Cod, taken from Governor Bradford's folio manuscript, we know who signed the compact, and the number of persons in the family of each; who of the signers brought wives, and who died the first winter. By the pocket-book of Governor Bradford we know the names and dates of the deaths of sixteen who died the first season, and how many died before the arrival of the Fortune, on the 9th of November, 1621. By an examination of the Old Colony Records, we know to whom land was assigned in 1624, and what families were extinct at that time; and, as the families were arranged according to the vessel in which they came, and an acre was granted to each individual, we know how many were at that time in each family. Smith has also told us that none of the first planters died during the three years preceding the close of the year 1624. By the division of cattle, in the year 1627, a record of which was made at Plymouth, we know every individual who was living at that date, and the relative age of each person in every family. By wills, records, and gravestones, we know the ages of many of the Pilgrims and their children.

From such materials, and with such authorities, the following table has been constructed; and it is believed, that, although there is a possibility of the existence of small errors which can never be proved, the list is entirely or very nearly correct.

In order to save space and unnecessary printing, and to exhibit more readily for reference some of the most important facts, the following distinctive marks are made use of.

Those who signed the compact at Cape Cod, on the 11th of November, 1620, are in capitals.

The number in each family is indicated by the Arabic numeral.
Those who brought their wives have this mark, †.
Those who left them for a time in Holland or England are thus stinguished, ‡.
Those who died before the arrival of the Fortune on the 9th of ovember, 1621, have an asterisk, *.
Those who died before the division of cattle in 1627, are in italics.
The dates of those who died the first season are given as taken om Bradford's pocket-book.

OHN CARVER, died in April, 1621.	†*	
Mrs. Carver, (his wife,) died in May, 1621.	*	
Elizabeth Carver, daughter of Mr. Carver and also wife of John Howland.		
Jasper, (the boy of Mr. Carver,) died Dec. 6, 1620.	*	
John Howland.		
Three others of this family died before 1627.	*	8
VILLIAM BRADFORD.	†	
Irs. Dorothy Bradford, (his wife,) drowned Dec. 7, 1620.	*	2
DWARD WINSLOW.	†	
Mrs. Elizabeth Winslow, (his wife,) died March 24, 1620–1.	*	
Edward Winslow, Jr., son of Edward.		
John Winslow, son of Edward.		5
GEORGE SOULE.		1
WILLIAM BREWSTER.	†	
Mrs. Brewster, (his wife.)		
Love Brewster, son of William.		
Wrestling Brewster, son of William.		
Mrs. Lucretia Brewster, wife of Jonathan, the oldest son of Elder Brewster.		
William Brewster, son of Jonathan.		6
ISAAC ALLERTON.	†	
Mrs. Mary Allerton, (his wife,) died Feb. 25, 1620-1.	*	
Bartholomew Allerton, son of Isaac.		
Remember Allerton, daughter of Isaac.		
Mary Allerton, daughter of Isaac, and also wife of Elder Thomas Cushman.		
Sarah Allerton, daughter of Isaac, and also wife of Moses Maverick.		6
MILES STANDISH.	†	
Mrs. Rose Standish, (his wife,) died Jan. 29, 1620-1.	*	2
JOHN ALDEN.		1
SAMUEL FULLER.	‡	
William Butten, (his servant,) died Nov. 6, 1620.	*	2
CHRISTOPHER MARTIN, died Jan. 8, 1620-1.	†*	
Mrs. Martin, (his wife,) died the first winter.	*	
Solomon Martin, son of Christopher, died Dec. 24, 1620.	*	
One other of this family died the first winter.	*	4
WILLIAM MULLINS, died Feb. 21, 1620-1.	†*	
Mrs. Mullins, (his wife,) died the first winter.	*	
Priscilla Mullins, daughter of William, and also wife of John Alden.		
Two others of this family died the first winter.	*	5

THE PASSENGERS OF THE MAY FLOWER IN 1620.

BY NATHANIEL BRADSTREET SHURTLEFF, M. D.

As EARLY as the year 1602, several religious people residing near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, together with their pious ministers, being grievously oppressed by courts and canons, resolved to shake off the yoke of antichristian bondage, and, as the Lord's free people, to form themselves by covenant into a church-state, to walk in all his ways according to their best knowledge and endeavors, cost them whatever it might.

In the year 1606, by reason of the distance of their habitations, these people were obliged to assemble in two places and become two distinct churches; over one of which Mr. John Smith was established pastor, and among the others were Mr. Richard Clifton and Mr. John Robinson, two very excellent and worthy preachers.

In the fall of 1607, Mr. Clifton and many of his church, being extremely harassed, removed themselves and families to Holland, where, in the spring of 1608, they were followed by Mr. Robinson and the rest. They settled first at Amsterdam, where they remained a year; but finding that Mr. Smith's church, which was there before them, had fallen into contention with others, they, valuing peace and spiritual comfort above other riches, removed with Mr. Robinson, their pastor, to Leyden, Mr. Clifton remaining in Amsterdam, where he soon died.

Soon after their arrival in Leyden, they chose Mr. William Brewster to assist the pastor, as Elder of the Church. In their new place of abode they lived in love and harmony with each other, and on friendly terms of intercourse with their neighbors, till they removed to America.

By the year 1610, many had come over to them from various parts of England, and they had increased and become a great congregation.

In 1617, Mr. Robinson and his church began to think of emigrating to America; and, as a preparatory step, sent Mr. Robert Cushman and Mr. John Carver from Leyden over to England, to treat with the Virginia Company, and also to see if the King would grant them the liberty of conscience there, which was refused them in the land of their birth. Although the agents were not able to obtain from the King their suit for liberty in religion under the broad seal, as was desired, nevertheless, they prevailed so far as to gain the connivance of the King that he would not molest them, provided they carried themselves peaceably. In 1618, the agents returned to Leyden, to the great discouragement of the people who sent them; who, notwithstanding, resolved, in 1619, to send again two agents to agree with the Virginia Company; and at this time they sent Mr. Cushman a second time, and with him Mr. William Bradford, who, after long attendance, obtained the patent granted by the Company to Mr. John Wincob, which was never used.

Notwithstanding all these troubles, so strong was their resolution to quit Leyden and settle in America, that they entered into an arrangement with Mr. Thomas Weston, a merchant of London, for their transportation, and sent Mr. Carver and Mr. Cushman to England, to receive the money of Mr. Weston, to assist in their transportation, and

to provide for the voyage. By direction, Mr. Cushman went to London and Mr. Carver to Southampton, where they finally joined with Mr. William Martin, who had been chosen to assist them.

A vessel of sixty tons, called the Speedwell, was bought and fitted in Holland, to be used in their transportation, and was designed to be kept for use in their new country. Mr. Cushman, in June, 1620, also hired at London the renowned May Flower, a vessel of ninescore tons, and also Mr. Clarke, the pilot.

Mr. Cushman, having procured the May Flower at London, and fitted it for the voyage, proceeded in it to Southampton, where he and Captain Jones, together with the other agents, remained seven days, until the arrival of the Pilgrims who left Leyden in July, embarking from Delft Haven.

On the 5th of August, both vessels, the May Flower, Capt. Jones, and the Speedwell, Capt. Reinolds, set sail from Southampton. The small vessel proving leaky, they both put in to Dartmouth about the 13th of August, where they remained till the 21st, when they set sail again. Both vessels were obliged to return a second time on account of the leakage of the Speedwell; and this time they put back to Plymouth, where they gave up the small vessel and dismissed those who were willing to return to London, Mr. Cushman and his family returning with them.

On the 6th of September, their number then consisting of one hundred persons, they made their final start, and arrived at Cape Cod on the eleventh day of November, when they signed the famous compact, and landed at Plymouth, in America, on the eleventh day of December, Old Style, or on the *twenty-first* of December, *New Style*, in the year 1620.

During their passage, one only died, William Butten, a young man, servant to Mr. Samuel Fuller, the physician of the new colony, who was included in Mr. Fuller's family, according to Governor Bradford, although dead at the time of the signing of the compact.

One person was born during the passage, Oceanus Hopkins, a son of Mr. Stephen Hopkins, who did not survive long after the landing.

At the commencement of the voyage, the number of passengers of the May Flower was one hundred, and at the time of the arrival at Cape Cod Harbor it was the same; one having died, and one having been born, thus preserving the integrity of the number. Both of these persons, however, are numbered among the passengers, and hence the number is generally stated as one hundred and one.

Peregrine White, son of Mr. William White, was born in Cape Cod Harbor, in November, after the signing of the compact and before the landing, and is not included with the voyagers. He enjoyed the distinction of being the first born white child in New England, of the Leyden Pilgrims.

The first child born after the landing on the twenty-second day of December, 1620, was a son of Mr. Isaac Allerton, but it did not survive its birth.

The May Flower has already been stated to have been a vessel of about ninescore tons, and was procured at London by Mr. Robert Cushman, who was debarred the privilege of coming over with the infant colonists, as it was necessary that he should remain in England, to keep together those who were left behind, and to provide for their

Plimoth Plantation

Site Map

Plimoth Plantation
P.O. Box 1620
Plymouth, MA 02362
508/746-1622

CAPE COD BAY

PLYMOUTH BEACH

NORTH ROUTE 3A SOUTH

MAYFLOWER II
2½ MILES NORTH

1627
PILGRIM
VILLAGE

CARRIAGE
HOUSE

EEL
RIVER
NATURE
WALK

EEL
RIVER

HOBBAMOCK'S
HOMESITE

ACCOMACK

VISITOR PARKING

VISITOR
CENTER

PICNIC
PAVILION

ENTRANCE
GATE

BUS PARKING
AND
HANDICAPPED PARKING

STAFF
AREA

TO ROUTE 3

Welcome to Plimoth Plantation, the living museum of 17th-century Plymouth. The Visitor Center houses two orientation theaters, the Shelby Cullom Davis Exhibit Gallery, dining facilities and the Museum Shop.

Please be sure to see the brief orientation program before heading to the 1627 Pilgrim Village and don't miss the exhibit gallery housed in the Carriage House.

Once in the Village explore the re-created 1627 Plymouth Colony. Become acquainted with the "colonists" – portrayed by costumed museum staff, who, in 17th-century dialects tell you what it is like to come to this foreign place to build a "new" England. Listen as they answer your questions from their 17th-century perspectives.

Leaving the Pilgrim Village enjoy the Eel River Nature Walk to Hobbamock's Homesite where you can enjoy the natural beauty of Coastal New England.

Hobbamock was a Pokanoket Wampanoag man who lived adjacent to Plimoth Plantation in the 1620s with his family. He helped the English settlers learn about the land and its Native People. Visit a re-creation of his homesite and speak with costumed Native Americans and uniformed staff about the history and culture of the Wampanoag from a 20th-century viewpoint.

Feel free to take photographs. Please refrain from petting and feeding the livestock. And, kindly use the trash receptacles located along the paths leading to the sites.

Your General Admission covers entrance to both this Eel River site and the Waterfront site where, adjacent to Plymouth Rock, you will find *Mayflower II*, a reproduction of the type of ship which transported the Pilgrims to the New World in 1620. The map below will direct you to that site. There, talk with costumed museum staff portraying sailors and passengers on board the ship in the spring of 1621.

Nearby, the J. Barnes Bake Shop will tempt you with 17th-century baked goods, and stop by our Waterfront Museum Shop.

We hope you enjoy your visit. If you'd like more information about becoming a member, our functions or special programs – including unique 17th-century dining opportunities – inquire in the Visitor Center or contact the museum.

Plimoth Plantation is a non-profit, living history museum, supported principally by admission, sales, contributions and memberships. The Plantation receives support from private foundations, corporations, local businesses, the Massachusetts Cultural Council, the Institute of Museum Services and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

HOBBAMOCK'S HOMESITE:

Hobbamock's Neesquttow (House with two fires): Hobbamock was a Wampanoag Indian who lived with his family of "above ten persons" just south of New Plymouth. He was "pnise" (councilor and military commander) to Massasoit, who, perhaps, expected him to keep a diplomatic eye on the English colonists.

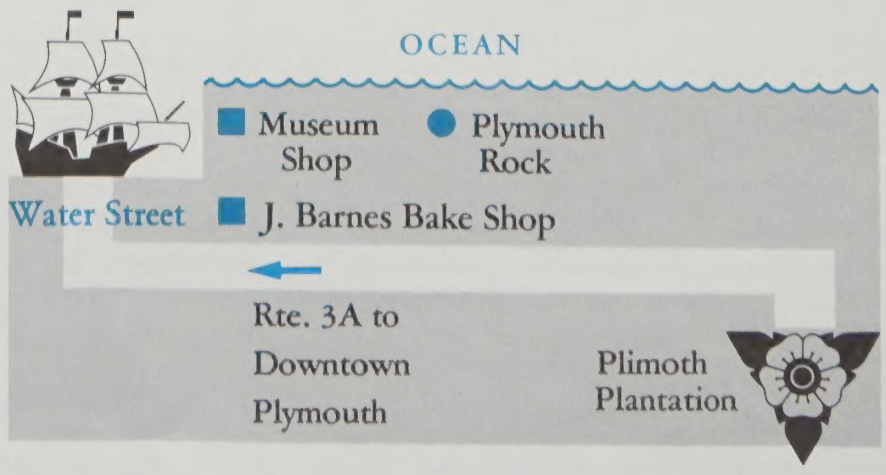
The Arbor: A sheltered area for outdoor work made from saplings and boughs.

The Wetuomemes (Women's Hut): A small house covered with reed mats where women were isolated at certain times of the month.

The Puttuckakaun: A small round wetu or house for the older members of Hobbamock's family.

To *Mayflower II*

Exit from the main parking lot to Rte. 3A. *Mayflower II* is located three miles north at the State Pier on the downtown Plymouth waterfront.



HOBBAMOCK'S HOMESITE:

Hobbamock's Neesquttow (House with two fires): Hobbamock was a Wampanoag Indian who lived with his family of "above ten persons" just south of New Plymouth. He was "pnise" (councilor and military commander) to Massasoit, who, perhaps, expected him to keep a diplomatic eye on the English colonists.

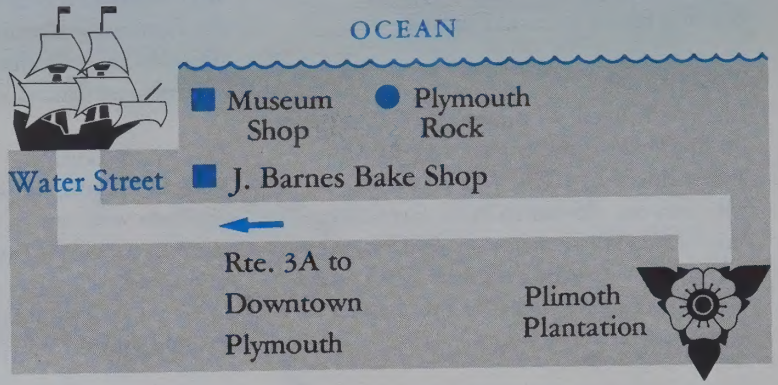
The Arbor: A sheltered area for outdoor work made from saplings and boughs.

The Wetuomemes (Women's Hut): A small house covered with reed mats where women were isolated at certain times of the month.

The Puttuckakaun: A small round wetu or house for the older members of Hobbamock's family.

To *Mayflower II*

Exit from the main parking lot to Rte. 3A. *Mayflower II* is located three miles north at the State Pier on the downtown Plymouth waterfront.



·2· Francis Cooke, and his sone John; But his wife, & other children came afterwards

·2· Thomas Rogers, and Joseph his sone; his other children came afterwards.

·2· Thomas Tinker, and his wife, and a sone

2· John Rigdale, and slice his wife.

3· James Chilton, and his wife, and Mary their doughter; they had an other doughter y was maried came aftermart.

·3· Edward fuller, and his wife; and Samuell their sonne.

·3 John Turner, and ·2· sones; he had a doughter came some years after to Ialem, wher she is now liuing.

·3· Francis Eaton, and Sarah his wife, and Samuell their sone, a yng child

Moyses fletcher
John Goodman
Thomas Williams
Digorie Priest
·10· Edmond Margeson
Peter Browne
Richard Britterige
Richard Clarke
Richard Gardenar
Gilbart Winslow

John Alden was hired for a Cooper, at South-Hampton wher the ship victuled; and being a hoppful yongman was much desired, but left to his owne liking to go, or stay when he came here, but he stay=
1· ed, and maryed here.

John Alderton, and Thomas Enlish were both hired, the later to go m̃ of a shaloy here. and y other was reputed as
·2· one of y company, but was to go back (beeing a seaman) for the help of others behind. But they both dyed here, before the shipe returned.

Ther were also other ·2· seamen hired to stay a year here in the Country, William Trevore; and
·2· one Ely. But when their time was out they both returned.

These beeing aboute a hundred soules came ouer in this first ship; and Began this worke, which gud of his goodnes hath hitherto bleset; Let his holy name haue praise.
And seeing it hath pleased him to giue me to see ·30· years compleated, since these beginings. And that the great works of his prouidence are to be obserued. I haue thought it not vnworthy my paines, to take a View of the decreasings, & increasings of these persons, and such changes as hath pased ouer them, & theirs, in this thirty years. It may be of some vse to such as come after; but howeuer it shall rest in my owne benefite.

I will therfore take them in order as they lyd.

M̃ Carver and his wife, dyed the first year, he in y spring, she in y somer. also his man Roger, and y litle boy Jasper, dyed before either of them of y commone infection. desire minter, returned to her freind & proued not very well, and dyed in England. His seruant boy Latham after more then ·20· years stay in the Country went into England; and from thence to the Bahamy Ilands in y west Indees; and ther with some others was starued for want of food. His maid seruant maried, & dyed a year or tow after here in this place. His seruant John Howland maried the doughter of John Tilie, Elizabeth, and they are both now liuing; and haue ·10· children now all liuing and their eldest doughter hath ·4· Childre

Plimoth Plantation

Site Map

Plimoth Plantation
P.O. Box 1620
Plymouth, MA 02362
508/746-1622

The 1627 Pilgrim Village:

1 STANDISH:
Veteran soldier Myles Standish arrived on *Mayflower* and was chosen as Captain (military commander) of New Plymouth. You can examine the armor and weapons of his calling in his house located nearest the Fort/Meetinghouse. He lives here with his second wife Barbara and their family.

2 ALDEN:
John Alden was hired as the cooper or barrelmaker aboard *Mayflower*. He chose to remain in New Plymouth rather than return with the ship, where he became a "husbandman" (farmer) as well as a cooper. He married Priscilla Mullins, who also came on *Mayflower*.

3 BRADFORD:
William Bradford, Governor of the Colony of New Plymouth, was one of the English Separatists - religious non-conformists - exiled to Leiden, Holland in 1608. He emigrated to New England on *Mayflower* in 1620 and succeeded John Carver as Governor in the summer of 1621. He occupies this house at the cross-street with his second wife, Alice.

4 HOPKINS:
Stephen Hopkins, a Non-Separatist from Gloucester shire, arrived with his family on *Mayflower*. He is the only one among the Plymouth settlers who had been in America before, having travelled to Virginia in 1609. He is now a New England resident, with his wife Elizabeth and their family.

5 HOWLAND:
John Howland came on *Mayflower* as a servant (employee) of Governor John Carver. After the death of the Carver family in the spring of 1621, Howland became a full member of the community. He married *Mayflower* passenger Elizabeth Tilley.

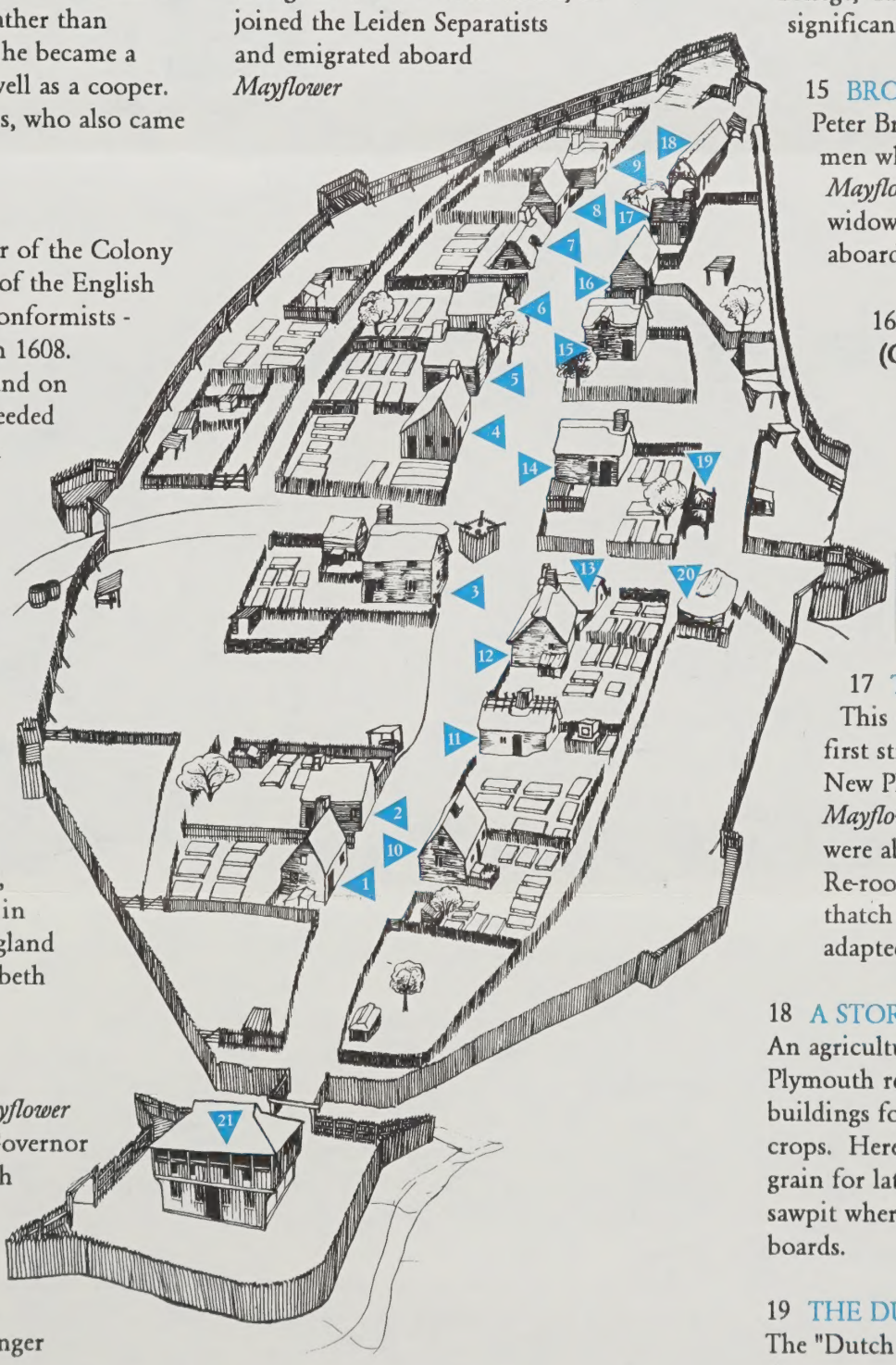
6 FULLER:
Samuel Fuller, a deacon in the Separatist church in Leiden and New Plimoth was surgeon to the colony and came on the *Mayflower*. In 1623, he was joined by his wife Bridget, a skilled midwife. Their garden is notable for a wide variety of herbs useful for physic or medical preparation.

7 ANNABLE:
Anthony and Jane Annable, Non-Separating Puritans from Cambridge, England, arrived with their two daughters in 1623. This simple dwelling represents a type of housing found in rural England.

8 WARREN:
Richard Warren, a London merchant, came on *Mayflower* and was joined by his wife and children in 1623. While all the colonists are obliged to make farming or "husbandry" their major occupation, the adjustment for urban residents such as the Warrens is greater than for immigrants from rural areas.

9 SOULE:
George Soule came to New Plymouth on *Mayflower* as a servant to Edward Winslow. By 1627, Soule has left the service of Master Winslow and set up his own household. He lives here with his wife Mary and his son, Zachariah.

10 WINSLOW:
Edward Winslow is a leading citizen of New Plymouth. Coming from a prosperous background in Worcestershire, he joined the Leiden Separatists and emigrated aboard *Mayflower* with his brother Gilbert. After his first wife died during the first winter, he married Susannah, widow of William White.



11 COOKE:
Francis Cooke came on *Mayflower* with his son, John. His wife, Hester, who is a Walloon (Belgian or French) Protestant, followed in 1623 with the rest of the family. Their house has a dairy at the back.

12 ALLERTON:
Mayflower passenger Isaac Allerton married Elder William Brewster's daughter Fear. In 1627 Allerton travels to England as agent of the Plymouth colonists in their negotiations with the Merchant Adventurers (financial backers) there.

13 BILLINGTON:
John Billington, his wife Elinor and their two sons were one of the few *Mayflower* families to survive the terrible first winter unscathed. John was embroiled in the factionalism of the early years, and is often at odds with the colony leaders.

14 BREWSTER:
William Brewster, although religious leader of New Plymouth, is not an ordained minister. Brewster served as Postmaster at Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, before he became a leading member of the Separatist congregation. Brewster and his family accompanied the portion of the community that emigrated to the New World, while pastor John Robinson remained with the majority in Leiden. Educated at Peterhouse College, Cambridge, he brought a significant library to New England.

15 BROWNE:
Peter Browne was one of the unmarried men who came to seek his fortune on *Mayflower*. He married Martha, the widow of William Ford, who arrived aboard *Fortune* in November, 1621.

16 A STOREHOUSE
(Closed to Public):
Here community supplies are kept along with furs and other goods that are to be sent to England to pay debts and buy further supplies.

HOBBAMOCK'S HOMESITE
via the Eel River Nature Walk

17 THE OLD COMMON HOUSE:
This common house represents the first structure built upon arrival in New Plymouth. It sheltered some *Mayflower* passengers until families were able to build their own houses. Re-roofed after the burning of the thatch in 1621, it has now been adapted to serve as a forge.

18 A STOREHOUSE:
An agricultural community such as New Plymouth requires a number of out-buildings for the storage and processing of crops. Here farming tools are kept, and grain for later threshing. Note the nearby sawpit where two-men teams saw logs into boards.

19 THE DUTCH BARN OR HELM:
The "Dutch barn" is a hayhouse used for the storage of salt hay. It is built to a common Anglo-Dutch design with an adjustable roof to best protect the hay on the platform.

20 THE COW HOUSE:
In England at this time, barns were more often used for grain storage than livestock. Cattle and other farm animals were housed in smaller "beasthouses" such as this cow house.

21 THE FORT/MEETINGHOUSE:
Built in 1622, this impressive "blockhouse" or defensive structure served multiple purposes. It was the colonists' place of worship or "meetinghouse", their courthouse and jail, as well as a fort and refuge in case of attack from land or sea.

Plimoth Plantation
P.O. Box 1620
Plymouth, MA 02362
508 / 746-1622

The names of those which came ouer first, in ye year 1620. and were (by the blesing of God) the first beginers, and (in a sort) the foundation, of all the plantations, and Colonies, in New-England (and their families)

Mr John Carver.
Katherine his wife.
8 Desire minter; & 2. man-seruants
John Howland
Roger Wilder.
William Latham, a boy.
& a maid seruant. & a child ye was put to him called, Jasper More

---

Mr William Brewster.
Mary his wife, with 2. sons, whose names
6 were Loue, & Wrasling.
and a boy was put to him called Richard More; and another of his brethrens
the rest of his Childeren were left behind & came ouer afterwards.

Mr Edward Winslow
Elizabeth his wife, &
2. men seruants, caled
5. Georg Sowle, and
Elias Story; also a litle girle was put to him caled Ellen, the sister of Richard More.

William Bradford, and
2 Dorothy his wife, hauing but one Child, a sone Left behind, who came afterward.

Mr Isaack Allerton, and
Mary his wife; with 3. Children
6. Bartholmew
Remember, &
Mary. and a seruant boy,
John Hooke.

Mr Samuell fuller, and
2 a seruant, caled
William Butten. His wife was behind & a Child, which came afterwards.

---

2 John Crakston and his sone
John Crakston

---

2. Captin Myles Standish
and Rose his wife

Mr Christopher Martin,
4. and his wife; and 2. seruants,
Salamon prower, and
John Langemore

Mr William Mullines, and his
5. wife; and 2. Children
Joseph, & priscila; and a seruant
Robart Carter.

Mr ~~White~~ William White, and
Susana his wife; and one sone
6. Caled resolued, and one borne
a ship-bord caled perigriene; &
2. seruants, named
William Holbeck, & Edward Thomson

Mr ~~Hopkin~~ Steuen Hopkins, &
Elizabeth his wife; and 2.
Children, caled Giles, and
8. Constanta a doughter, both
by a former wife. And 2. more
by this wife, caled Damaris, &
Oceanus, the last was borne at
sea. And 2. seruants, called
Edward Doty, and Edward Litster.

Mr Richard Warren, ~~dyed~~ but his
1. wife and Children were lefte
behind and came afterwards

---

4 John Billinton, and Elen his wife:
and 2. sones John, & francis.

Edward Tillie, and Ann his wife:
4. and 2. Childeren that were their
Cosens; Henery Samson, and Humil.
lity Cooper

---

3. John Tillie, and his wife; and
Elizabeth their doughter

1

on Martha, is also ma=
·12· Children all of
and one of them ma=

urren lived some ·4·
and had his wife come
y whom he had ·2·
ed; and one of them
t hath ·2· Children
se is ·4· But he had
more came over
, who are all mari=
& have many Chil=

n after he had bene
was executed, for
; and his eldest
fore him; but his
ue, and married, &
dren

and his wife both
r their arrivall, and
lity their cousen was
nto England, and
t the youth Henery
l liveing, and is
h ·7· Children.

nd his wife both
after they came
heir daughter Eli=
d with John Hom=
th Issue as is be=

is still living a
, and hath seene
hildren, have Chil=
wife came over,
his Children) he
uing by her all
ue ·5· Children
se is ·8· And his
which came over
married, and hath
living.

Thomas Rogers dyed in the first sicknes, but his sone Joseph is still liuing, and is mar
·6· ied, and hath ·6· Children. The rest of Thomas Rogers came over, & are maried, & haue many Children.

Thomas Tinker, and his wife, and sone, all dyed in the first sicknes.

And so did John Rigdale, and his wife.

James Chilton, and his wife also dyed in the first
·10· Infection. but their daughter mary, is still liuing and hath ·9· Children; and one daughter is mar ied, & hath a Child; so their Increase is ·10·

Edward fuller, and his wife dyed soon after they
4 came ashore; but their sone samuell is liuing, & maried, and hath ·4· Children ·or more·

John Turner, and his ·2· sones all dyed in the first siknes. But he hath a daugter still liuing at Salem, well maried, and approued of.

Francis Eeaton, his first wife dyed in the g=
4 neral sicknes, and he maried again, & his ·2· wife dyed, & he maried the ·3· and had by her ·3· Children. one of them is maried, & hath a Child; the other are liuing, but one of them is an Ideote. He dyed about ·16· yeare agoe.
·1· his sone samuell, who came over a sucking Child is allso maried, & hath a Child.

Moyses fletcher
Thomas Williams
Digerie preist
John Goodman
Edmond Margeson
Richard Britterige
Richard Clarke
All these dyed sone after their arrivall in the generall sicknes that befell. But Digerie preist had his wife & Children sent hither afterwards she being m^r Allertons sister. But the rest left no posteritie here.

Richard Gardiner, became a seaman, and dyed in England, or at sea.
Gilbert Winslow after diuerse yeors aboad here, returned into England and dyed ther.

6 peter Browne maried twise; by his first wife he hat ·2· Children, who are liuing & both of them maried, and the one of them hath ·2· Children. by his second wife, he hat ·2· more; he dyed about in 16 years since

Thomas English; and John Allerton, dyed in the generall siknes.
John Alden maried with priscila, m^r Mollines his daughter, and hath Issue by her as is before related.

Edward Doty, & Edward Litter the seruants of m^r Hopkins: Litter after he was at liberty went to Virginia, & ther dyed. But Edward Doty by a second wife hath ·7· Children and both he and they are liuing

of these 100 persons which came first over, in this first ship together the greater halfe dyed in the generall mortality; and most of them in ·2· or three monthes time. And for those which suruied though some were ancient & past procreation; & others left ye place and cuntrie. yet those few remaining are sprung up aboue ·160· persons; in this ·30· years. And are now liuing in this presente year ·1650· besids many of their Children which are dead, and come not within this account.
And of the old Stock (of one, & other) ther are yet liuing this pre=sent year ·1650· nere ·30· persons. Let the Lord haue ye praise; who is the High preserver of men.

Twelfe persons liueing of the old Stock this pre=
= sent yeare 1679.

Two persons liueing that came over in the first Shipe 1620 this present yeare 1690. Resolved White and Mary Chusman, the daughter of m^r Alderton and Joan Cooke the Son of Francis Cooke that came in the first Ship is still liuing this present yeare 1697 & Mary Cushman is still liuing this present yeare 1698

15 And ther 2. dougter, one all liuing and other of their Children mariagable. So 15. are come of them.

Mr Brewster liued to very old age; about 80 years he was when he dyed, hauing liued some 23. or 24. years here in y countrie. & though his wife dyed long before, yet shi dyed aged. His sone Wrastle dyed a yonge man vnmaried; 4. his sonne Loue liued till this year 1650. and dyed, & left 4. children, now liuing. His doughters which came ouer affor him, are dead but haue left sundry Children aliue; his eldest sone is still liueing, and hath 9. or 10. Children, one maried 2. who hath a child, or 2.
4 Richard more, his brother dyed the first winter; but he is maried, and hath 4. or 5. Children, all liuing.

Mr Ed: Winslow, his wife dyed the first winter; and he maried with 2. the widow of Mr White, and hath 2. Children liuing by her marigable, besids sundry that are dead. one of his seruants dyed, as also the litle girle soone after the ships arriuall. But his man Georg Sowle 8 is still liuing, and hath 8. Children

x William Bradford, his wife dyed soone after their arriuall; and he 4 maried againe; and hath 4. Children 3. wherof are maried . . . who dyed 9 of May 1656.

Mr Allerton his wife dyed with the first, and his seruant John Hooke his sone Bartle is maried in England but I know not how many Children he hath. His doughter remember is 8. maried at Salem, & hath 3. or 4 Children liuing. And his doughter mary is maried here, & hath 4 Children. Him selfe maried againe with y dougter of Mr Brewster, & hath one sone liuing by here but she is long since dead. And he is maried againe, and hath left this place long agoe. So y account his Increase to be 8. besids his sons in England.

Mr Fuller, his seruant dyed at sea; and after his wife came ouer, he had tow 2. Children by her, which are liuing and growne vp to yers. But he dyed some 15. years agoe.

John Crakston dyed in the first mortalitie; and about some 5. or 6. years after his sone dyed, hauing lost him selfe in y wodes, his feet became frosen, which put him into a feauor, of which he dyed.

Captain Standish his wife dyed in the first sicknes; and he maried 4 againe, and hath 4. Sones liueing, and some are dead.
+ who dyed 3 of octob. 1655.

Mr Martin, he and all his, dyed in the first Infection; not long after the arriuall.

Mr Molines, and his wife, his sone, & his seruant dyed the first winter. Only his dougter priscila 15 suruied, and maried with John Alden, who are both liuing, and haue 11. Children. And their eldest daughter is maried & hath fiue Children. See No 2. Memorial. p. 22.

Mr White, and his 2. seruants dyed soone after ther landing. His wife maried with Mr Winslow (as is before noted) 7 His 2. sons are maried, and resolued hath 5. Children; perigrine tow, all liuing: So their Increase are 7

Mr Hopkins, and his wife are now both dead; But they liued aloue 20. years in this place, and had one sone, and 4. doughters Borne here. Ther sone became a seaman, & dyed 5 at Barbadoes, one daughter dyed here. and 2. are maried, one of them hath 2. Children, & one is yet to mary. So their Increase, which 4 still suruiue, are 5. But his sone Giles is maried, and hath 4 Children.

his doughter Constanta, is also maried. and hath 12 Children all of them liuing, and one of them maried

Mr Richard Warren liued some 4. or 5. years, and had his wife come ouer to him, by whom he had 2. 4 Sons before dyed; and one of them is maryed, and hath 2. Children So his Increase is 4. But he had 5. doughters more came ouer with his wife, who are all maried; & liuing & haue many Children.

John Billinton after he had bene here 10. yers, was executed, for killing a man; and his eldest 8 sone dyed before him; But his 2. sone is aliue, and maried, & hath 8. Children

Edward Tillie, and his wife both dyed soon after their arriuall, and the girle Humility their cousen was sent for into Ento England, and 7 dyed ther. But the youth Henery Samson, is still liueing, and is maried, & hath 7. Children.

John Tillie, and his wife both dyed, a litle after they came a shore; and their daughter Elizabeth maried with John Howland and hath Issue as is before noted.

Francis Cooke is still liuing a very olde man, and hath seene his Childrens Children, haue Children: after his wife came ouer, (with other of his Children) he hath 3. still liuing by her, all maried, and haue 5. Children So their encrease is 8. And his sone John which came ouer with him, is maried, and hath 4 4. Childdren liuing.

died 7 April 1663 above 80

Thomas Rogers dyed in the first sicknes, but his sone Joseph is still liuing, and is maried, and hath 6. Children. The rest of Thomas 6 Rogers Came ouer, & are maried, & haue many Children.

Thomas Tinker, and his wife, and sone, all dyed in the first sicknes.

And so did John Rigdale, and his wife.

James Chilton, and his wife also dyed in the first Infection. but their doughter mary is still liuing and hath 9. Children; and one daughter is maried, & hath a Child. So their Increase is 10. 10

Edward Fuller, and his wife dyed soon after they came ashore; But their sone Samuell is liuing, & 4 maried, and hath 4. Children. or more.

John Turner, and his 2. sones all dyed in the first siknes. But he hath a daugter still liuing at Salem, well maried, and approued of.

Francis Eeaton, his first wife dyed in the generall sicknes, and he maried againe, & his 2. wife dyed, & he maried the 3. and had by her 4 3. Children. one of them is maried, & hath a Child; the other are liuing, but one of them is an Idiote. He dyed about 16 years agoe.
1 His sone Samuell, who came ouer a sucking Child is allso maried, & hath a Child.

Moyses Fletcher
Thomas Williams
Digerie preist
John Goodman
Edmond Margeson
Richard Britteridge
Richard Clarke
All these dyed sone after their arriuall in the generall sicknes that befell. But Digerie preist had his wife & Children sent hither afterwards she being Mr Allertons sister. But the rest left no posteritie here.

Richard Gardinar, became a seaman, and dyed in England, or at sea.
Gilbert Winslow after diuerse yeors aboad here, returned into England and dyed ther.

6 Peter Browne maried twise; by his first wife he had 2. Children, who are liuing & both of them maried; and the one of them hath 2. Children: by his second wife, he had 2. more; he dyed about 16 years sinc

Thomas English; and John Alderton, dyed in the generall siknes.
John Alden maried with priscila, Mr Molines his doughter, and had Issue by her, as is before related.

Edward Doty, & Edward Litter the seruants of Mr Hopkins: Litter after he was at liberty, went to Virginia, & ther dyed. But Edward Doty by a second wife hath 7. Children and both he and they are liuing

Of these 100 persons which came first ouer, in this first ship together the greater halfe dyed in the generall mortality; and most of them in 2. or three monthes time. And for those which suruied though some were ancient & past procreation; & others left y place and cuntrie. yet those few remaining are springe vp aboue 160. persons; in this 30 years. And are now liuing in this presente year 1650. besids many of their Children which are dead, and come not within this account.
And of the old Stock (of one, & other) ther are yet liuing this present year 1650. here 30. persons. Let the Lord haue y praise; who is the High preserver of men.

= Twelfe persons liueing of the old Stock this present yeare 1679.

Two persons liueing that came ouer in the first Shipe 1620 this present yeare 1690. Resolued White and Mary Chusman, the daughter of Mr Allerton and John Cooke the Son of Francis Cooke that came in the first Ship is still liueing this present yeare 1697 & Mary Cushman is still liueing this present yeare 1698

15 And ther 2. dougter, one, all liuing and other of their Children mariagable. So 15. are come of them.

Mr Brewster liued to very old age; about 80. years he was when he dyed, having liued some 23. or 24. years here in ye countrie. & though his wife dyed long before, yet she dyed aged. His sone Wrastle dyed a yonge man vnmaried; his sonne liue Loue, till this year 1650. 4. and dyed & left 4. children, now liuing. His doughters which came ouer after him, are dead but haue left sundry Children aliue; his eldest sone is still liueing, and hath 9. or 10. Children, one mari- 2. ed: who hath a child, or 2.
Richard more, his brother dyed the 4 first winter; but he is maried, and hath 4. or 5. Children, all liuing.

Mr Ed: Winslow, his wife dyed the first winter; and he maried with 2. the widow of Mr White, and hath 2. Children liuing by her marigable, besids sundry that are dead.
one of his seruants dyed, as also the litle girle soone after the ships a- 8 riuall. But his man Georg Sowle is still liuing, and hath 8. Childre

William Bradford, his wife dyed 4 soone after their arriuall; and he maried againe; and hath 4. Children 2. wherof are maried. - - - who dyed 9 of May. 1656.

Mr Allerton his wife dyed with the first, and his seruant John Hooke his sone Barile is maried in England but I know not how many Children he hath. His doughter remember is 8. maried at Salem, & hath 3. or 4 Children liuing. And his doughter mary is maried here, & hath 4. Children. Him selfe maried againe with ye dougter of Mr Brewster, & hath one sone liuing by here but she is long since dey dead. And he is maried againe, and hath left this place long agoe. So I account his increase to be 8. besids his sons in England.

Mr Fuller, his seruant dyed at sea; and after his wife came ouer, he had tow 2. Children by her; which are liuing and growne vp to yers. But he dyed some 15. years agoe.

John Crakston dyed in the first mor- 6 tality; and about some 5. or 6. years after his sone dyed, having lost him selfe in ye woodes, his feet became frosen, which put him into a feuer, of which he dyed.

Captain Standish his wife dyed in the first sicknes; and he maried 4. againe, and hath 4. Sones liue- ing, and some are dead.
-1 who dyed 3. of octob. 1655.

Mr Martin, he and all his, dyed in the first Infection; not long after the arriuall.

Mr Molines, and his wife, his sone, & his seruant dyed the first winter. Only his dougter priscila 15. suruied, and maried with John Alden, who are both liuing, and haue 11. Children. And their eldest daughter is maried & hath fiue Children. See N. E. Memorial. p. 22.

Mr White, and his 2. seruants dyed soone after ther landing. His wife mari- 7. ed with Mr Winslow (as is before noted) His 2. sons are maried, and resolued hath 5. Children; perigrine tow, all liuing: So their Increase are 7

Mr Hopkins, and his wife are now both dead; but they liued aboue 20. years in this place, and had one sone, and 4. doughters Borne here. 5. Ther sone became a seaman, & dyed at Barbadoes, one daughter dyed here. and 2. are maried, one of them hath 2. Children, & one is yet to mary. So their Increase, which 4. still suruiue, are 5. But his sone Giles is maried, and hath 4. Children.

his dought
ried, and
them liuing
reed

Mr Richar
or 5. yea
ouer to hi
4 Sons Befo
is maryed
So his Jn
5. dough
with his
ed; & liu
dren.

John Bill
here 10. y
killing a
8. sone dyed
2. sone i
hath 8.

Edward
dyed soon
the girle
sent for m
7 dyed ther
Samson, is
maried, &

John Till
dyed, at
a shore; a
zabeth m
land and
fore note

Francis Co
very olde
his Children
dren: after
with other
hath 3. Sti
maried, an
So their en
sone John
4 with him,
4. Childr

The names of those which came ouer first, in ye year 1620.
and were (by the blesing of God) the first beginners, and
(in a sort) the foundation, of all the plantations, and
Colonies, in New-England (and their families)

8 Mr John Caruer.
Katherine his wife.
Desire minter; &
2. man-seruants,
John Howland
Roger Wilder.
William Latham, a boy,
& a maid seruant. & a
child ye was put to him
called Jasper More

---

6 Mr William Brewster.
Mary his wife, with
2. sons, whose names
were Loue, & Wrasling.
and a boy was put to
him called Richard More; and another of his Brethrens
the rest of his Childeren
were left behind & came
ouer afterwards.

---

5 Mr Edward Winslow
Elizabeth his wife, &
2. men seruants, caled
Georg Sowle, and
Elias Story; also a litle
girle was put to him caled
Ellen, the sister of Richard
More.

---

2 William Bradford, and
Dorothy his wife, having
but one child, a sone left
behind, who came afterward.

---

6 Mr Isaack Allerton, and
Mary his wife; with 3. Children
Bartholmew
Remember, &
Mary. and a seruant boy,
John Hooke.

---

2 Mr Samuell fuller, and
a seruant, caled
William Butten. His wife
was behind & a child, which
came afterwards.

---

2 John Crakston and his sone
John Crakston

---

2 Captin Myles Standish
and Rose, his wife

---

4 Mr Christopher Martin,
and his wife; and 2. seruants,
Salamon prower, and
John Langemore

---

5 Mr William Mullines, and his
wife; and 2. Childeren
Joseph, & priscila; and a seruant
Robart Carter.

---

6 Mr ~~White~~ William White, and
Susana his wife; and one sone
caled resolued, and one borne
a ship-bord caled perigriene; &
2. seruants, named
William Holbeck, & Edward Thomson

---

8 Mr ~~Hopkin~~ Steuen Hopkins, &
Elizabeth his wife; and 2.
Children, caled Giles, and
Constanta a doughter, both
by a former wife. And 2. more
by this wife, caled Damaris, &
Oceanus, the last was borne at
sea. And 2. seruants, called
Edward Doty, and Edward Litster.

---

1 Mr Richard Warren, ~~Dyed~~ but his
wife and Children were lefte
behind and came afterwards

---

4 John Billinton, and Elen his wife:
and 2. sones John, & francis.

---

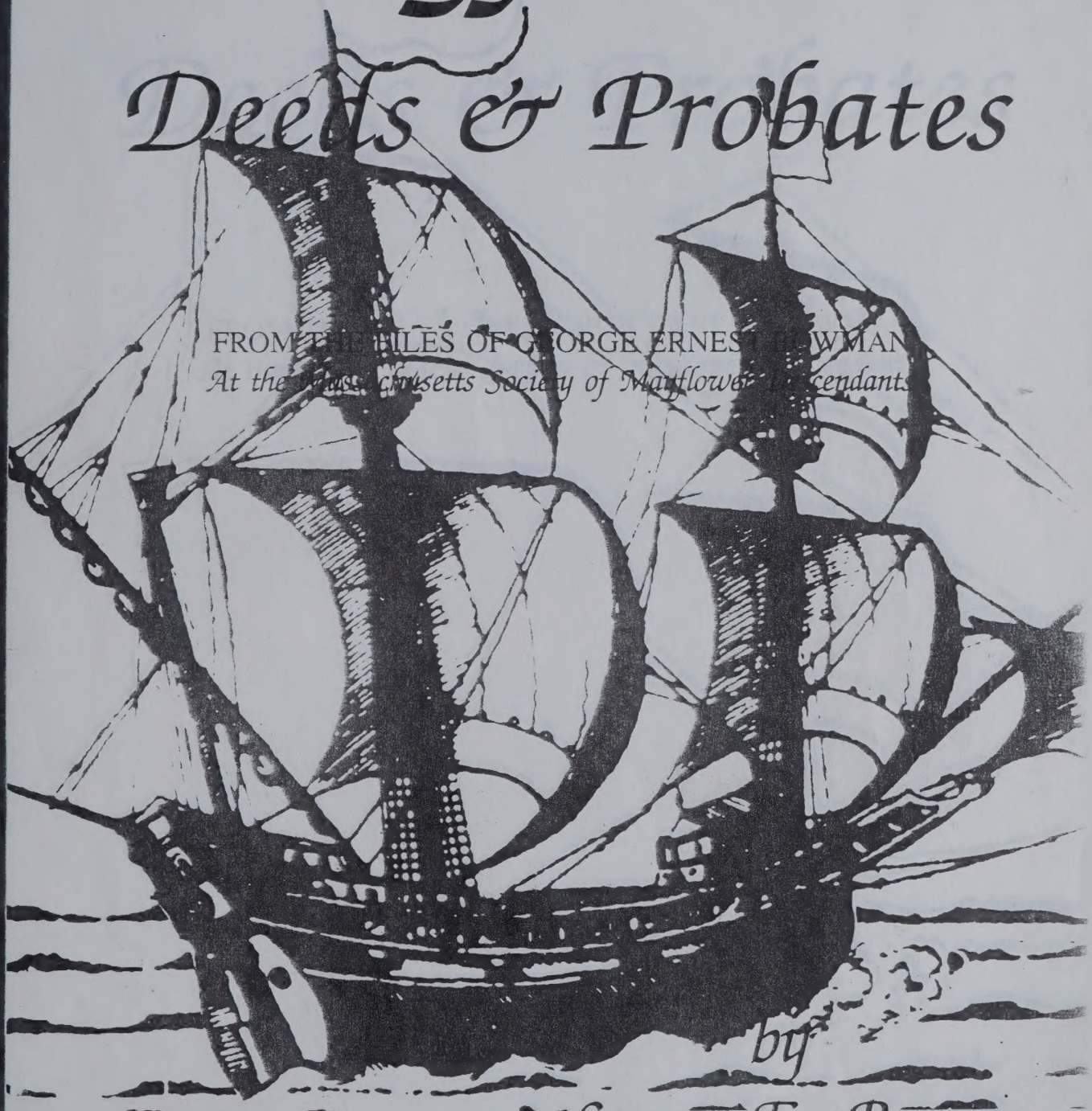
4 Edward Tillie, and Ann his wife.
and 2. Childeren that were their
Cosens; Henery Samson, and Humil-
lity Cooper

---

3 John Tillie, and his wife; and
Elizabeth their doughter

Mayflower Deeds & Probates

FROM THE FILES OF GEORGE ERNEST BOWMAN
At the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants



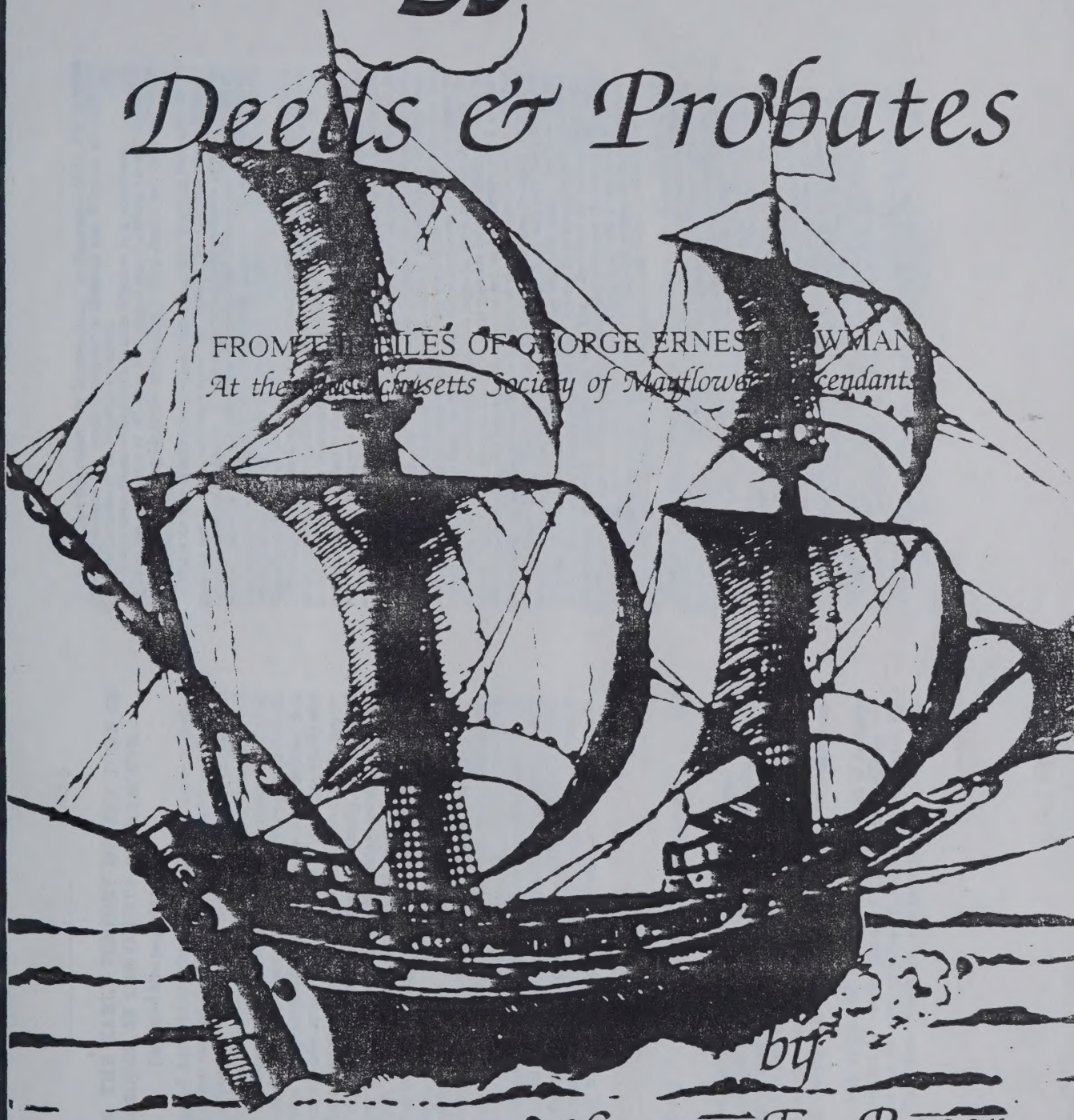
by

Susan E. Roser

Mayflower

Deeds & Probates

FROM THE FILES OF GEORGE ERNEST BOWMAN
At the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants



by

Susan E. Roser

NEHGR

Oct 1849

SKETCHES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF MIDDLEBOROUGH, IN THE COUNTY OF PLYMOUTH.

[Continued from page 220.]

In the beginning of April, 1622, Captain Standish set out in a shallop, with ten of the principal men of the Colony, and Hobbamock and Tisquantum, on a second* voyage to "the Massachusetts." They had not proceeded far, however, before the discharge of a piece of ordnance from their little fort warned them of impending danger, and that their return was desired. The shallop is, accordingly, put about, and soon arrives again at Patuxit. They found the town in a posture of defence, and the whole military force of the Colony mustered under arms; and are informed that immediately after their departure, those who remained at home were alarmed by the appearance of a wounded Savage, a member of Tisquantum's family, who announced that "at Namaschet† there were many of the Nanohiggansets, Massassowat, their supposed friend, and Conbatant, their feared enemy,‡ with many others, with a resolution to take advantage on the present opportunity to assault the town in the Captain's absence." The Savage affirmed that he received his wound for speaking in behalf of the Colonists, and that he had escaped by artifice, to give warning of the danger. Hobbamock was highly indignant at this aspersion upon the good faith of his Sovereign, and declared the whole story to be a fabrication. The Governor, who was also loth to mistrust the faithfulness of his ally, directed Hobbamock to send his wife privately to Pokanoket, the residence of Massasoit, with instructions to take note of what she should hear or see there, and to bring back information of the "right state of things." Finding all things quiet, the woman "told Massassowat§ what had happened at Plymouth; which, when he

understood, he was much offended at the carriage of Tisquantum,* returning many thanks to the Governor for his good thoughts of him, and assuring him that, according to their first Articles of Peace,† he would send word and give warning when any such business was towards." In short, their alarm had been groundless, and as soon as it was ascertained that such was the case, the shallop was again despatched on its voyage to "the Massachusetts."‡

The next notice which we have of Namaschet is in the month of January, 1622–3, when we read that Governor Bradford went on an expedition "to two inland towns, and bought corn of them; the one called Namasket, the other Manomet.§ That from Namasket was brought home partly by In-

* The Pilgrims first visited "the Massachusetts" in September, 1621. For an account of their adventures the reader is referred to Bradford and Winslow, pp. 57–9; or to Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 224–9.

† "A town some fifteen miles from us," adds Winslow, in a parenthesis.

‡ From this expression of Winslow, it is evident that Corbitant was still regarded with distrust, notwithstanding his formal submission to King James, and apparent reconciliation with the English.

§ This is the way Winslow, in his Good News from New England, from which the passage in the text is taken, uniformly spells the name of the Chieftain who is generally known, nowadays, as Massasoit. Prince says, "the printed accounts generally spell him Massasoit; Governor Bradford writes him Massasoyt and Massasoyet; but I find the ancient people, from their fathers, in Plymouth Colony, pronounce his name Ma-sas-so-it." And this is the orthography which the distinguished Annalist has adopted throughout his "Chronological History of New England."—*See Prince, p.* 187, *note.*

* This simple son of the forest appears to have been dazzled by the favor and confidence exhibited towards him by the English, and to have begun "to feel his oats." Winslow, in his Good News, seems to be unnecessarily severe in his language on this point. He says, after relating the particulars of the alarm at Plymouth, "thus by degrees we began to discover Tisquantum, whose ends were only to make himself great in the eyes of his countrymen, by means of his nearness and favor with us; not caring who fell, so he stood. In the general, his course was to persuade them he could lead us to peace or war, at his pleasure, and would oft threaten the Indians, sending them word in a private manner we were intended shortly to kill them, that thereby he might get gifts to himself, to work their peace; insomuch as they had him in greater esteem than many of their Sachims; yea, they themselves sought to him, who promised them peace in respect of us, yea, and protection also, so as they would resort to him; so that whereas divers were wont to rely on Massassowat for protection, and resort to his abode, now they began to leave him and seek after Tisquantum. Now, though he could not make good these his large promises, especially because of the continued peace between Massassowat and us, he therefore raised this false alarm; hoping, whilst things were hot in the heat of blood, to provoke us to march into his country against him, whereby he hoped to kindle such a flame as would not easily be quenched; and hoping if that block were once removed, there were no other between him and honor, which he loved as his life, and preferred before his peace. For these and the like abuses the Governor sharply reproved him; yet was he so necessary and profitable an instrument, as at that time we could not miss him. But when we understood his dealings, we certified all the Indians of our ignorance and innocency therein; assuring them, till they begun with us, they should have no cause to fear; and if any hereafter should raise any such reports, they should punish them as liars and seekers of their and our disturbance; which gave the Indians good satisfaction on all sides."—*Winslow, in Young, pp.* 289–90.

Tisquantum, or Squanto, did not survive long after this. His last service was to pilot an expedition, by water, to Manamoic, now Chatham, in search of provisions. This was in the month of November, 1622. "Here Squanto falls sick of a fever," writes Governor Bradford, who conducted the expedition, (Standish, who had been appointed to the command, having been taken sick of a fever,) "bleeding much at the nose, which the Indians reckon a fatal symptom, and here in a few days dies; desiring the Governor to pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in Heaven, bequeathing his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love; of whom we have a great loss." Judge Davis remarks that "Governor Bradford's pen was worthily employed in the tender notice taken of the death of this child of nature. With some aberrations, his conduct was generally irreproachable, and his useful services to the infant settlement entitle him to grateful remembrance." A beautiful promontory in Quincy perpetuates the name of this friend of the Pilgrims.—*Winslow, in Young, p.* 301; *Prince, pp.* 206–7; *Davis's Morton, pp.* 85–6.

† Ratified at Plymouth, March 22, 1620–1, and religiously observed by Massasoit as long as he lived.—*See Bradford and Winslow, pp.* 35–8; *Prince, pp.* 186–8; *Davis's Morton, pp.* 53–5.

‡ Winslow, in Young, pp. 286–9; Prince, pp. 201–2; Davis's Morton, pp. 76–7.

§ "The part of Sandwich which lies on Manomet River."—*Mass. Hist. Coll.* VIII. 252, *note.*

Some purchasers include
Edward Gray, lots 13 & 14
Wm Brewster, Lot 11
John Howland Lot 20
Thos Prence Lot 2
Nat. Warren Lot 5
(Richard's eldest son)

dian women; but a great sickness arising amongst them,* our own men were enforced to fetch home the rest."†

In March, 1622–3, "news came to Plymouth," says Edward Winslow, "that Massassowat was like to die. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them to visit them in their extremity, either in their persons, or else to send some acceptable persons to them; therefore it was thought meet, being a good and warrantable action, that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same, by observing this their laudable custom. The Governor laid this service upon myself, and fitted me with some cordials to administer to him; having one Master John Hamden,‡ a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my consort, and Hobbamock for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Namasket, where we had friendly entertainment." Winslow and his companions, having visited Massasoit, and spent one night with Corbitant, at Mattapuyst,§ passed the last night of their journey, as they had the first, at Namasket, whence they returned home the next day.‖

At the villages of Namasket and Titicut, within the present bounds of Middleborough, were, in former times, the favorite summer residences of the principal Chiefs of the New England tribes. Hither they were accustomed to resort, with their chosen followers, to pass a portion of the fishing and hunting season on the borders of the beautiful ponds in this neighborhood. Here was the royal hunting-house of the good King Massasoit, and also, at a later day, of his sons and successors, the short-lived Wamsutta, or Alexander, and the warlike Pometacom, or Philip. Tehticut, Teightaquid, Tettiquet, Teticut, or Titicut, on Namasket River, within the present bounds of Middleborough, is said to have been one of the favorite resorts of *Chikataubut*, the Chieftain of the Massachusetts Indians, and "the greatest Sagamore in the country." His territory in this part of New England "did extend from Nishamagoguanett, near Duxbury mill, to Titicut, near Taunton, and to Nunckatateset,¶ and from thence in a straight line to Wanamampuke,** which is the head of Charles River." Although Chikataubut was one of the nine Sachems who subscribed the Articles of Submission to King James, on the 13th of September, 1621, Dudley remarks of him, in 1631, that he "least favoreth the English of any Sagamore we are acquainted with, by reason of the old quarrel between him and those of Plymouth, wherein he lost seven of his best men." However this may be, it is certain that, on the 23d of March, 1630–1, but a few days after Dudley had penned the above passage in his famous Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, Chikataubut visited Boston, "with his Sannops and Squaws, and presented the Governor with a hogshead of Indian corn." Indeed, the whole intercourse of this Chief with the Massachusetts Colonists seems to

* I. e. the Indians at Namasket. † Winslow, in Young, p. 305; Prince, p. 208.

‡ Not, as has been often asserted, the distinguished English patriot of that name.—*See Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp.* 314–15, *note.*

§ A neck of land in the township of Swanzey, commonly pronounced Mattapoiset; now Gardner's Neck, situated between the Showamet and Towooset Necks.—*Belknap's American Biography,* (8*vo. Boston,* 1794 & 1798,) ii. 292, *note; Baylies's Memoir of Plymouth Colony,* (8*vo. Boston,* 1830,) *Part* II. *pp.* 232, 234.

‖ For an account of this expedition, and the visit to Massasoit, see Winslow, in Young, pp. 313—26.

¶ A pond of considerable size, in the southwest part of Bridgewater, adjoining Raynham. It was sometimes called by the Indians *Neapnuncket.* Its modern name is *Nippenicket.*

** Whiting's Pond, in Wrentham.

have been of a uniformly friendly character. His principal residence was "upon the River of Naponset, near to the Mattachusetts Fields, three miles to the north of Wessaguscus." He, with many of his people, died of the Small Pox, in the month of November, 1633. His favorite domain at Tehticut, comprising "three miles on each side of the River," was granted by his son, Josiah Wampatuck, to the Titicut Indians, so called, before August, 1644; as, by an order of that date, the General Court at Plymouth, "upon the petition of Duxbury men, thought good that there be a view taken of the lands described by them, namely, twelve miles up into the woods from Plymouth bounds at Jones' River, and if it prove not prejudicial to *the Plantation to be erected at Teightaquid,*" &c. &c., "it may be confirmed unto them."*

In all grants of lands in this part of the Colony, the General Court was always very careful to insert a proviso with regard to the "Titicut Purchase," cautioning the grantees against encroachments upon this Indian settlement, the bounds and limits of which seem not to have been very accurately defined, and warning them not to locate themselves "too near to Titicut," or to "molest the Indians." So much, however, of this reserve, as was situated on the north side of the river, was included within "the additional grant" to Bridgewater, in 1668; and the inhabitants of that town obtained permission to purchase the tract, and William Brett, Nicholas Byram, and Samuel Edson were appointed by the Court to negotiate with the Indians for it. A deed was, accordingly, obtained from "Pomponoho, alias Peter, an Indian, living at Titicut, in the Colony of New Plymouth," bearing date Nov. 20, 1672, wherein it is recited that "I, Pomponoho, have sold for the full sum of sixteen pounds, viz., six pounds of current money of New England, and ten pounds in good merchantable corn, all the lands lying on the north side of Titicut River within the bounds of Bridgewater, what lands were mine, or were either my father's or grandfather's, or any otherwise conferred on me, excepting those lands expressed as follows," &c. &c., "unto Nicholas Byram, sen., Samuel Edson, sen., and William Brett, sen., in and for the use of the townsmen of Bridgewater, joint purchasers with them," &c. &c.†

For many years the settlements of the English in Plymouth Colony were confined to the seacoast, and to such portions of the interior as had been depopulated by the fearful pestilence, which had swept through the country shortly before their arrival on the New England shores. Hence it was that the territory of Namasket, comprising the Indian villages of Namasket and Titicut, which seem to have escaped the almost universal desolation, notwithstanding its proximity to Plymouth, did not begin to be settled by the English until about the year 1660, forty years after its first exploration by Winslow and Hopkins. The natives, comparatively inconsiderable in numbers, readily sold the larger portion of their ancestral domains to the English.‡ The first considerable purchase of lands occurred in the year 1662, when a large portion of territory was obtained from Josiah Wampatuck, for the sum of £70, bounded on one side by the Namasket

* Drake's Book of the Indians, Book II. pp. 19, 42—4, III. p. 7, *note;* Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, (Salem ed., 8vo. 1795,) i. 262, *note;* Mitchell's History of Bridgewater, (8vo. Boston, 1840,) pp. 9–10, 17–18; Davis's Morton, p. 67; Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, in Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, (8vo. Boston, 1846,) p. 305; Winthrop's History of New England, (Savage's ed., 8vo. Boston, 1825–6,) i. 48, 53, 56, 61, 72, 87, 115–16; Mass. Hist. Coll. XVII. 142-3.

† Mitchell, pp. 17, 18—19; Mass. Hist. Coll. XVII. 142-3.

‡ Baylies, Part II. pp. 229-30; Part III. p. 2.

River, and on the other by Tippacunucut Brook.* Purchases were also effected at different times, of Watuspequin, or Tispacan, the "Black Sachem," the distinguished Chieftain of "Assowampsett;" until at length the whole territory, now comprised within the limits of the town, had been fairly acquired of the rightful lords of the soil.†

The names of the first purchasers were as follows.

F. John Adams,
F. William Bassett,
M. Francis Billington,
Thomas Bordman,
M. William Brewster,
M. Peter Brown,
F. Edward Bumpus,
M. Francis Cook,
F. Philip Delanoy,
M. Thomas Dotey,
Samuel Eddy,
Lt. Matthew Fuller,
M. Samuel Fuller,
Edward Gray,
William Hodskins,
M. John Howland,
M. William Mullins,
William Nelson,
George Partridge,
William *Pontus* (?)
Andrew Ring,
John Shaw,
F. Moses Simmons,
M. George Soule,
A. Francis Sprague,
M. Resolved White.‡

* Eddy, MS. Letter. † Ibid; Drake's Book of the Indians, Book II. p. 45; III. pp. 57–8.

‡ For this list we are indebted to Mr. Eddy. The letters prefixed to some of the names indicate that the individual himself, or his immediate ancestor, came over either in the May Flower, in 1620, the Fortune, in 1621, or the Ann, in 1623. JOHN ADAMS was, perhaps, the person of that name mentioned by Deane, (History of Scituate, p. 211,) as being of Marshfield, and marrying Jane James in 1654. *He* may have been the son of John, who came over in the Fortune, in 1621, whose widow, Eleanor, married Kenelm Winslow in 1634. BASSETT was probably the son of the passenger of that name in the Fortune, who settled, first, in Plymouth, then in Duxbury, and finally in West Bridgewater, of which town he was an original proprietor, and died in 1667. BILLINGTON was the son of John Billington, one of the passengers in the May Flower, in 1620, who was executed at Plymouth, for murder, in 1630. The name of this his son will be transmitted to posterity, as the discoverer, in 1621, of the beautiful pond, called, after him, Billington Sea. BORDMAN may have been he of Lynn in 1637, who removed to Sandwich. BREWSTER was probably the son of Jonathan, and grandson of Elder William Brewster. BROWN may have been the passenger in the May Flower of that name. BUMPUS (said to have been originally *Bon passe*,) seems to have been of Marshfield in 1640, and of Duxbury soon after its settlement. The name of FRANCIS COOKE is found among the passengers of the May Flower, of whose wife Edward Winslow, in his "Briefe Narration," makes mention, as "being a Walloon." Of DELANO, originally De la Noye, Winslow tells us that he was "born of French parents," and that he "came from Leyden to New Plymouth;" and "coming to age of discerning, demanded communion with us; and proving himself to be come of such parents as were in full communion with the French Churches, was hereupon admitted by the Church of Plymouth; and after, upon his removal of habitation to Duxburrow, where Mr. Ralph Partridge is Pastor of the Church, and upon letters of recommendation from the Church at Plymouth, he was also admitted into fellowship with the Church at Duxburrow." He was early at Duxbury, and was one of the original proprietors of Bridgewater. He married Hester Dewsberry in 1634, and Mary, widow of James Glass, of Duxbury, and daughter of James Churchill, in 1657. DOTEY was, without doubt, the son of Edward Dotey, that chivalrous esquire of Stephen Hopkins, who signalized himself by being a party to "the first duel fought in New England, upon a challenge of single combat with sword and dagger," at Plymouth, June 18, 1621. The *doughty* hero seems to have subsequently exchanged the weapons of Mars for those of Cupid, as we find him, at a later date, besieging, nay, carrying by storm, one Faith Clarke, undoubtedly a notable virgin of Plymouth Colony. SAMUEL EDDY was the son of Rev. William Eddy, of Cranbrook, in the County of Kent, England, and arrived at Plymouth, with his brother John, in the Handmaid, Captain Grant master, Oct. 29, 1630. He settled at Plymouth, and had four sons and several daughters. "His son OBADIAH," (writes his lineal descendant, ZECHARIAH EDDY, ESQ.,) "inherited the Middleborough lands; whose son, SAMUEL, had some of the farms by inheritance from him; whose son ZECHARIAH, inherited the same. JOSHUA, the son of ZECHARIAH, was the next inheritor; and the writer now owns and occupies the same lands which the first Samuel purchased, and which were set off to him in the division made of that purchase by the twenty-six men among themselves." Of MATTHEW FULLER we have been able to find only a brief notice, which states that he was "first of Plymouth, about 1640, removed to Barnstable in 1652, where he died, 1678. He was appointed Surgeon-General of the Provincial forces raised in Plymouth Colony in 1673, and he is also styled Captain in 1675." Of SAMUEL FULLER, supposing him to be identical with the first Minister of the town, we shall have something to say

The settlement of the whites was followed by its usual consequence, the gradual disappearance of the red race. The native inhabitants of the territory of Namasket, having alienated their possessions, sought other hunting-

anon. GRAY married Mary, (born in 1630, died in 1663,) daughter of Mr. John Winslow, (a brother of Gov. Edward,) Jan. 16, 1650–1. He was a respectable merchant and ship owner, and resided in that part of the town of Plymouth which borders upon Kingston, and which was called, by the first planters, "*Plain Dealing*." In 1678 he hired Clarke's Island, "for seven years, to keep 16 neat cattle, free of rate; townsmen to have liberty to bring wood for building, fencing, and firing." His daughter Desire married Lieut. Nathaniel Southworth, Jan. 10, 1671–2. From Mass. Hist. Coll. XIII. 167, note, it appears that he died in 1681. There was a WILLIAM HOSKINS in Scituate, a freeman in 1634. JOHN HOWLAND, the first of the name, came to Plymouth in the May Flower, in 1620, as a member of the family of Governor Carver, whose daughter Elizabeth he afterwards married. After a long life of usefulness, he died at his residence, at Rocky Nook, Feb. 24, 1672–3, aged 80. Plymouth Colony Records, taking notice of his decease, add that he was "a godly man and an ancient professor in the ways of Christ, and proved a useful instrument of good in his place, and was the last of the male survivors of those who came over in the May Flower in 1620, *whose place of abode was Plymouth*." Of his four sons, JOHN resided a short time in Marshfield, and then settled in Barnstable; Jabez settled, finally, in Bristol, R. I.; ISAAC in Middleborough; and Joseph, the youngest, remained in Plymouth. Of MULLINS it can only be conjectured that he was a son of the tenth signer of the celebrated COMPACT, "a man pious and well deserving, endowed also with a considerable outward estate," who died at Plymouth, Feb. 21, 1620–1. There was a person of the name in Duxbury, about 1642. Of NELSON we have not been able to obtain any information. A *John* Nelson, of *Middleborough*, married Lydia, (daughter of Robert Bartlett, of Plymouth; born June 8, 1647,) the widow of James Barnaby. GEORGE PARTRIDGE may have been the brother of Rev. Ralph Partridge, whose tedious and distressing voyage, and safe arrival, with "many good people," at Boston, Nov. 17, 1636, are recorded by Winthrop. The "godly minister, Mr. Partridge," was soon called to a pastoral office in the Church at Duxbury; and simultaneously appears the name of George Partridge as an inhabitant of that town. They were both, also, original proprietors of Bridgewater. Sarah, the daughter of George, born in 1639, married Samuel Allen, of Bridgewater, about 1658. The next name upon our list is evidently a misnomer; but what it *should* be, we are unable to say. Of ANDREW RING we know nothing with certainty. A person of that name married Deborah, a daughter of Stephen Hopkins, the Pilgrim, in 1646, and died in 1692, aged 75. SHAW is said to have "arrived at Plymouth about 1627." His residence was at "*Plain Dealing*;" and his name, with those of Francis Billington, Samuel Eddy, and William *Hodgkinson*, appears on the list of those "townsmen of New Plymouth" among whom was divided, in July, 1638, the live stock remaining from Mr. James Shirley's donation, in 1624, of "an heifer to the Plantation, to begin a stock for the poor." MOSES SYMONSON, (as his name was originally, but now corrupted into *Simmons*,) came to Plymouth in the Fortune; and being, says Winslow, "a child of one that was in communion with the Dutch Church at Leyden, is admitted into Church fellowship at Plymouth in New England, and his children also to baptism, as well as our own." He was one of the first settlers of Duxbury, and an original proprietor of Bridgewater. His sons Moses and Thomas settled, the former in Duxbury, where he died in 1689, and the latter in Scituate, where he was a householder before 1647. GEORGE SOULE, the thirty-fifth signer of the Compact at Cape Cod, and a member of Edward Winslow's family, sold his lands in Plymouth, and removed to Duxbury before 1645, in which year he was one of the deputies from that town to the General Court at Plymouth; and was an original proprietor of Bridgewater. In 1668 he gave his lands in Middleborough to his sons-in-law John Haskell and Francis Walker, both of that town, and their wives (his daughters) Patience and Elizabeth. His wife, Mary, died in 1677; he himself in 1680, "very aged." SPRAGUE settled in Duxbury, and is spoken of as having been "a man of influence and property." He was an original proprietor of Bridgewater, but neither removed thither himself, nor did any of his family. RESOLVED WHITE was the eldest son of "Mr. William White," the eleventh signer to the Compact, who died Feb. 21, 1620–1. He was one of the early settlers of Scituate, whence he removed to Marshfield in 1662. He married, in 1640, Judith, the eldest daughter of William Vassall, of Scituate. He remained in Marshfield until 1670, about which time his wife died, and then disappears. He was living in 1675, as is evident from a bequest to him, in the will of Josiah Winslow, of that date.

See Farmer's Genealogical Register; Baylies's Historical Memoir of Plymouth Colony; Deane's History of Scituate; Shurtleff's "Passengers of the May Flower," in N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, I. 47—53; *Mitchell's Hist. Bridgewater; Prince's Annals; Davis's Morton; Massachusetts Historical Collections; Russell's Guide to Plymouth; Winslow's "Briefe Narration," in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims; Ward's History of Shrewsbury.*

grounds; and the forests, through which they had roamed in savage dignity, vanished before the axe of the sturdy pioneer. But though the red man retreats, he leaves traces behind him, which perpetuate his remembrance for ages after the last miserable remnant of his tribe shall have passed away forever. The ploughshare not unfrequently exposes to view the Indian sepulchre, where, close beside the bones of the deceased, are found the various articles which the pious care of friends had provided, in anticipation of the long journey to the land of spirits; while the bow and arrows, the knife and pipe, shew what was to be the nature of the warrior's pursuits upon his arrival at the happy hunting-grounds of the blessed. Here and there the field thickly sown with arrow-heads, and the mouldering skulls, upturned by the careless husbandman, evidence the mighty harvest which Death once reaped there, and call to mind the race which in former days peopled the country, stalking through its majestic forests, or sauntering on the borders of its beautiful ponds and streams. On the Eastern shore of Assowamsett Pond there were, some few years since, two rocks, whereon were to be seen sundry "curious marks," which the wise are fain to suppose to have been "done by the Indians," and in some of which they trace a resemblance to "the steppings of a person with naked feet, which settled into the rocks;" while others are as evidently "the prints of a hand." On a high hill, too, a little to the eastward of "the old stone fishing-wear," * there is a venerable rock, bearing the veritable impress of a man's hand upon its flinty surface.†

The following document is not without interest at this stage of our history. It was found among the rich collection of manuscripts in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; ‡ and we will give a complete transcript of it, *verbatim et literatim*, even at the risk of being thought somewhat tedious, inasmuch as it has never before been printed, to our knowledge.

"PRENCE GOV^r.

The Several Lotts laid forth & bounded lying and being upon Pochade neck near unto Namasket Granted unto Several Persons afternamed, are as followeth

Imp^rs. The Maj^r. Winslow. — 1 Lot beginneth at a White Oak tree marked on four Sides near the Brook where the three Brooks meet & it runs up a Southwest line and is bounded on the other Side with two red Oaks marked

M^r. Thos Prence. — 2 Lott is bounded with a Pine tree and red Oak tree marked
Mr John Alden. — 3 Lot is bounded with two red Oak trees marked
Lt Peregrine White — 4 Lot is bounded with a white Oak & a red Oak tree marked
Nathl. Warren — 5 Lot is bounded with a white Oak marked Standing alone in a plain
W^m. Basset — 6 Lot is bounded with two walnot trees marked
Mr John Winslow. — 7 Lot is bounded with two red Oak trees marked & with ye River
Capt Bradford. — 8 Lot lyeth across the Ends of the other Lots next unto Namasket & is bounded with a red Oak & a pine tree marked next unto the s^d. Lotts. and on the other side with a white Oak marked near unto the bounds of the purchase.

The bounds of Several Lotts granted unto Sundry Persons besides those above named lying near unto Namaskett are as followeth

Francis Sprague. — 1 Lot is bounded with a red Oak at the River side that Comes from Winnatuxet & Bridgwater, & on the other side running Cross the Neck, it is bounded with a red Oak & a white Oak marked, this is the first Lot lying on the Northwest side of the s^d. neck

John Adams. — 2 Lott is bounded with a Stooping maple tree in a little Swamp & a red Oak marked

* See *ante*. † Mass. Hist. Coll. III. 2; Drake's Indian Wars. (12mo. Boston, 1727,) p. 99.

‡ In a volume entitled "Letters & Papers, 1632—1678," p. 75.

George Patridge	3 Lot is bounded with two red Oak trees marked
Francis Cooke	4 Lot is bounded with two red Oaks marked
Thoˢ Barman	5 Lot is bounded with a red Oak and a pine tree marked
Wᵐ Parkes	6 Lot is bounded with two red Oak trees marked
Samˡ ffuller	7 Lot is bounded on the Side next the foregoing Lot with two red Oaks marked & on the other side with a pine & a White Oak marked, there being a parcel of Barren Land betwixt this & the foregoing Lot
	8 The Eighth Lot lyeth Vacant
	no 9 on list
Edwᵈ Bumpus	10 Lot is bounded with a red Oak & a Walnut marked
Mᵣ. Wᵐ. Brewster	11 Lot is bounded with two red Oaks marked
John Shaw.	12 Lot is bounded with a White Oak & a red Oak marked.
Edwᵈ Gray	13 Lot is bounded with a maple tree & a pine tree marked.
Edwᵈ. Gray	14 Lot is bounded [with] a Rock & a red Oak marked
Mᵣ Resolved White	15 Lot is at the wading place & is bounded with the path & the Beaver Damm & lyeth in half the length of the former Lotts
Wᵐ Hoskins.	16 Lot abutteth on the path wᵗʰ two white Oaks marked
Andᵣ Ring	17 Lot is bounded with two red Oaks marked
Moses Simons	18 Lot is bounded with a red Oak & a Walnut tree marked
Wᵐ. Nelson	19 Lot is bounded with a White Oak & a walnut tree marked
Mᵣ Jnᵒ. Howland	20 Lot is bounded with two red Oaks marked
George Soule.	21 Lot is bounded with two red Oak trees marked
Philip Delanoy	22 Lot is bounded with two white Oaks marked
Wᵐ. Mullins	23 Lot is bounded with two white Oaks marked
Peᵗʳ. Browne	24 Lot is bounded with a White Oak & a red Oak marked
Samˡ. Eddys	25 Lot is bounded with a red Oak & a white Oak marked
Lᵗ. Fuller	26 Lot is bounded with a white Oak & a Red Oak marked.
Thos Dogget	27 Being the first at Whetstones Vineyard, the bounds of it are two White Oaks on the Northwest side marked, & on the other side with two white Oaks
The Ministers Lot.	28 Lot lyeth at Wahuckett Brook next the Path & runneth half the length of the other Lotts

A true Copy as appears of Record
Examd pr Josiah Cotton Cler
& Regᵗ.

Recorded in or about the year 1664
A true Copy
Examd pr Josiah Cotton Cler

A True Copy
Examd pr Samᵘ. Tyley Cler"*

Superscribed
"Namaskett Propᵣs Names."

*"The Major" JOSIAH WINSLOW, whose name stands at the head of our list, was the son of Gov. EDWARD WINSLOW, (by his second wife, Susanna, the widow of Mr. William White, whom he married May 12, 1621,) and was born at Marshfield, in 1628. He married Penelope, a daughter of Herbert Pelham, Esq., in 1657; was many years an Assistant, was Commander-in-chief of the forces employed during PHILIP'S WAR, sustained the office of Governor from 1673 to 1679, inclusive, being the first Chief Magistrate who was born in the country, and died at Marshfield, Dec. 18, 1680, and was buried on the 23d. His wife died in 1703, aged 73. "MR. JOHN WINSLOW" was probably JOHN, JR., the son of John the brother of Gov. Edward, who came over in the Fortune, and married, before 1627, MARY CHILTON, the daughter of James Chilton, one of the passengers in the May Flower, and had nine children, the eldest of which was John, who died in 1683. One of the daughters of John, Sen., married, as has been already mentioned, EDWARD GRAY. THOMAS PRENCE came from Leachlade, in Gloucestershire, to Plymouth, in the Fortune, married Patience, daughter of Elder William Brewster, Aug. 5, 1624, was chosen Governor in 1634, and served one year. In 1635, his wife having died in the course of the preceding year, he married Mary, daughter of Mr. William Collier, and about this time took up his residence at Duxbury. He was an Assistant in 1635, 1636, and 1637, and was again chosen Governor in 1638, for one year, during which he continued to reside in Duxbury. From 1639 to 1656, inclusive, he was an Assistant. In 1644 he had removed to Eastham, where his wife died. In 1657 he was, for the third time, elected Governor, and retained the office until his death. He married, in 1662, Mrs. Mary, widow of Samuel Freeman; and in 1665 removed to Plymouth, where he passed the remainder of his days, in a house provided for him by the Government, at "*Plain Dealing.*" He

In the year 1668 the General Court of Plymouth Colony, in answer to a petition of July 5, 1667, from the town of Bridgewater, "desiring their enlargement may extend to where the six miles extends that they purchased of the Indians by order from the Court," passed an act confirming to the petitioners the lands in question, with the proviso, however, "that grants of lands formerly made by the Court be not molested," and ordered that "as to those lands that are between Bridgewater and Namasket, already granted, it shall be determined by the Court unto what town they shall belong; and that the Indians be not molested, notwithstanding this enlargement."*

The various purchases of territory which had been made of the natives in Namasket, having been duly authorized and confirmed† by the General

died March 29, 1673, in the 73d year of his age, "having been a worthy, pious gentleman, and very capable of the office of Governor, being therein a terror to evil doers, and an encourager of those that did well; and was honorably interred at Plymouth, April 8, 1673." His wife survived him. The name of JOHN ALDEN is familiar as a household word. He married Priscilla, daughter of Mr. William Mullins; was one of the first settlers of Duxbury, one of its Deputies to the General Court, an original proprietor of Bridgewater, and many years an Assistant; and after a long life of eminent usefulness, died —the last of that little band of PILGRIMS which first stepped upon Plymouth Rock— on the 12th of September, 1687, aged 88. His wife appears to have survived him. His descendants have been remarkable for longevity. Of his children, JOSEPH, of Bridgewater, died Feb. 8, 1697, aged about 73; JONATHAN died in February, 1697, aged about 70; Elizabeth, the wife of William Paybody, died May 31, 1717, aged 93; JOHN, the third son of JOSEPH, sold his father's homestead in Bridgewater, about 1700, and removed to Titicut, in Middleborough. His son JOHN lived in Middleborough, where he died in April, 1821, aged 102, having been twice married, and had 19 children, 62 grandchildren, 134 great-grandchildren, and 7 great-great-grandchildren, 172 of whom were living at the time of his decease. "Three of his children," says a late writer, "two daughters and one son, are now [1845] living, and dwell under the same roof in Middleborough, whose average age is 84 1-3 years." PEREGRINE WHITE, the first-born of English parents in New England, was born on board the May Flower, in Cape Cod Harbor, in November, 1620. His mother, upon the decease of her husband, married Gov. Edward Winslow, May 12, 1621; and her sons by her first husband were, consequently, bred in the town of Marshfield, where the Governor resided. Peregrine married Sarah, daughter of William Basset, and passed his days in Marshfield, where he died July 20, 1704, "vigorous and of a comely aspect to the last." His wife died in 1711. NATHANIEL WARREN was the son of "Mr. Richard Warren," one of the passengers of the May Flower, whose death, in 1628, is commemorated in New England's Memorial. His family arrived in the Ann, in 1623. Nathaniel married Sarah Walker, in 1645. Captain (afterwards Major) WILLIAM BRADFORD, son of Gov. William Bradford, (by his second wife, Mrs. Alice, widow of Constant Southworth, whom he married Aug. 14, 1623,) was born June 17, 1624, sustained many offices, both military and civil, and died Feb. 20, 1703–4. He lived in Kingston, near Duxbury, and was one of the original proprietors of Bridgewater. He was thrice married, and left a numerous posterity. Of WILLIAM PARKES we *know* nothing. He *may* have been he of Roxbury, who died May 11, 1685. But we are inclined to think that WILLIAM PARKER, of Scituate and Barnstable, is the person intended. THOMAS DOGGET we presume to have been he of Marshfield, who married Mary Chillingworth, in 1654, according to Deane. Of the other persons, whose names are upon this list, we have already spoken.

* Mitchell's Bridgewater, p. 16.

† In 1643 it was enacted by the General Court of the Colony "that if any person or persons hereafter purchase rent or hyre any lands herbage wood or tymber of any of the Natives in any place within this Governᵗ without the consent and assent of this Court every such person or persons shall forfait five pounds for every acree which shal be so purchased hyred rented and taken and for wood and tymber to pay five times the value thereof to be levyed to the Colonies use." In 1660, "in reference unto the law prohibiting buying or hiering land of the Indians directly or indirectly bearing date 1643 the Court interprets those words alsoe to comprehend under the same penaltie a prohibition of any mans receiving any lands under pretence of any gift from the Indians without the approbation of the Court." And in the edition of "The General Laws" published in 1672, the same provision is inserted.—*See Plymouth Colony Laws*, (*Brigham's ed.*, 8vo. *Boston*, 1836,) *pp.* 74, 129, 289.

Court, the town was finally incorporated, by the name of Middleborough, (or Middleberry, as it is uniformly spelt on the Colony Records,) in June, 1669.*

In the course of this same year died Josiah Wampatuck, of whom, as we have seen, a portion of Middleborough was purchased. He was the son of Chikataubut, of whom we have before spoken, and was the Sachem of Mattakeesett, or Pembroke. He was a minor in 1641, and "was bred up," says Gookin, "by his uncle Kuchamakin," or Cutshamekin, a Sachem who resided at Neponset, within the bounds of Dorchester. On the 5th of February, 1643–4, Cutshamekin, Agawam, and "Josias, Chikatabot's heir," writes Winthrop, "came to the Governor, and in their own name and the names of all the Sachems of Watchusett, and all the Indians from Merrimack to Tecticutt, tendered themselves to our [the Massachusetts] government, and gave the Governor [Winthrop himself] a present of thirty fathom of Wampom, and offered to come to the next Court to make their acknowledgment, &c. The Governor received their present to keep it till the Court, &c., and if the Court and they did agree, then to accept it." According to his promise, Cutshamekin presented himself at the Court in March following, accompanied by the Squaw Sachem of Massachusetts, (widow of the mighty Nanepashemet,) and three other Chiefs, and "according to their former tender to the Governor," says Winthrop, "desired to be received under our protection and government upon the same terms that Pumham and Saconono were." This application, coinciding as it did with the policy of the Massachusetts Government, could not but meet with a favorable reception; and the chiefs, having first listened to an explanation of the Articles of Agreement and "*all the ten commandments of God*," were taken under the protection of the Government; and after an exchange of presents, and an entertainment, "went away very joyful." Cutshamekin, we are told, was the first *Sachem* to whom Eliot preached, and it was in his wigwam, "near Dorchester mill," that the Apostle's stated Lecture at Neponset was established, in 1646, and kept, once a fortnight. But notwithstanding Cutshamekin's profession of Christianity, he united with his neighbor Chieftains, in the year 1650, in their opposition to Mr. Eliot's project of establishing a regular town of Praying Indians; and he avowed the cause of his opposition to be, the decrease in his revenues since the conversion of his subjects, which gave him reason to apprehend that, eventually, all tribute would be withheld. Upon close investigation, however, it was satisfactorily ascertained that it was not the loss of tribute which chafed the irascible Chieftain, but the diminution of the despotic power which he had formerly exercised over his subjects, consequent upon their advance in civilization. Thanks to the firmness and patience of Eliot, the irritation of Cutshamekin was soothed, and he ceased, for the present, at least, to trouble the Apostle and his converts. But he was a man of ardent feelings, alike hasty in his resentments, and impassioned in his sorrow for his actions during his outbursts of violence, unstable as water, and veering with every wind. He died before 1655. Nurtured amid such influences, it is no wonder if the youthful Josiah should have evinced something of the impetuosity and fickleness of character for which his uncle was distinguished. "He had," says Gookin, "considerable knowledge in the Chris-

* Heretofore it has been usually stated that the town was incorporated in 1660. But see the statement in the Collections of the American Statistical Association, I. 42, which is confirmed by Mr. Eddy.

tian religion, and sometime, when he was younger, seemed to profess it for a time, and was a catechized Indian, and kept the Sabbath several years; but after turned apostate, and separated from the Praying Indians." Notwithstanding his "apostacy," Josiah is said to have been a faithful friend to the English, to whom he made numerous and extensive grants of land; as, for instance, in 1653 and 1668, in Scituate and the vicinity; in 1662, at Middleborough, and other places in its neighborhood. Aug. 5, 1665, he gave a deed of Braintree, in which he describes himself as "Wampatuck, alias Josiah Sagamore, the son of Chikataubut deceased." After his father's death Wampatuck was not unfrequently, and perhaps generally, called Josias Chikataubut; under which name he sold to Dorchester the "New Grant," so called, in 1666, promising a full and ample deed thereof in 1669; but his death prevented its delivery. The Dorchester people, however, obtained, in 1670, a deed from his brother, Squamaug, who acted as Sachem during the minority of Jeremy, the son of Josiah, which was confirmed by Jeremy himself in 1671. In 1659 we find John Eliot memorializing the General Court on "The case of the Nipmuk Indians," stating that "Uncas his men, at unawares, set upon an unarmed poor people, and slew eight persons, and carried captive twenty-four women and children. Some of them," he adds, "were subjects to [the] Massachusetts Government, *by being the subjects of Josias.*" In the summer of 1669, during the war between the Indians of New England and the Mohawks, the Massachusetts Chieftains united in raising an army of some six or seven hundred men to invade the country of the enemy. This enterprise was strongly discountenanced by the English; and the Praying Indians were so influenced by the arguments of Eliot and Gookin, that "not above five of them" could be induced to take part therein. "The chiefest General in this expedition," says Gookin, "was the principal Sachem of Massachusetts, named JOSIAH, alias CHEKATABUTT, a wise and stout man of middle age, but a very vitious person. This man was the chief, but there were divers other Sagamores and stout men that assisted." After a tedious march of about two hundred miles, the allied forces, composed of the bravest warriors of New England, arrived in the Mohawk Country, and sitting down before one of the forts of the enemy, besieged it for some days. But having been weakened by an assault of the Mohawks, who sallied from their fort, and attacked them with great fury; and finding that the strongholds of the enemy, the strength of which precluded the possibility of carrying them by assault, were well prepared to sustain a siege, while, in the meantime, their own provisions were exhausted, their ammunition well nigh spent, and sickness had made its appearance in their camp, they reluctantly abandoned the siege, and turned their faces homeward. But before they had marched fifty miles, they were pursued and intercepted by the Mohawks, and a severe conflict ensued. The New Englanders fought bravely, and many of the enemy fell before them; but they were worn out by the fatigue of the journey and siege, and had to contend with a superior force. Their leader, JOSIAH, with most of his chief Captains and Sagamores, to the number of fifty, were slain, fighting valiantly. The approach of night put an end to the battle, — which was the last and most fatal in the war, — and the Mohawks withdrew, well satisfied with their victory; while the remnant of the Massachusetts force made the best of its way home, overwhelmed with sorrow, shame, and confusion at the disastrous result of their enterprise, and mourning the loss of their principal Chiefs and bravest warriors.

Josiah, as we have seen, left a son Jeremy, who became Sachem upon

the attainment of his majority, in 1671. Charles Josiah, the son of Jeremy, is said to have been the last of his race.*

In the year 1670 John Morton, of Plymouth, bought into the "26 men's purchase," as it was called, and took up his residence in Middleborough; and was chosen to represent the town — for the first time — in the General Court of the Colony, at Plymouth, in the month of June.† In 1671 the town does not appear to have been represented at all. In 1672 Morton again served as Deputy.‡

This year, 1672, we find it recorded that "the Island of Quetequas was let by the Colony to a Mr. Palmer, to plant and to sow." This island was in one of the great ponds in Middleborough, and probably in that one which bears the same name, Quetequas, with its variations, Quittaquas, Quitiquos, Quittiquash, and Quitticus.§

In June, 1673, the town was represented by Morton for the last time. He died before the close of the year, at Middleborough, "much lamented by sundry of the inhabitants of that place." He was the son of Mr. George Morton, of Austerfield, Yorkshire, who married Sarah, the sister of Governor Bradford, came over in the Ann, in 1623, and died at Plymouth, in the month of June, 1624, leaving three sons, of whom the subject of this notice was the second, and two daughters. The Colony Records inform us that Mr. John Morton was "a godly man," and the estimation in which he was held by the people of Middleborough is evidenced by their selecting him for their first Deputy to the General Court. He left a numerous family. His son John was "the first town schoolmaster in Plymouth, his native place";‖ and among his descendants may be mentioned the name of the Honorable Marcus Morton, LL. D.‖

* Drake's Book of the Indians, Book II. pp. 44–5, 80–1, 113–14; Deane's History of Scituate, (8vo. Boston, 1831,) pp. 144–5; Mass. Hist. Coll. I. 166–7, 169, IX. 160; Savage's Winthrop, ii. 153–4, 156–7, 303; Francis's Life of John Eliot, in Sparks's American Biography, V. 71, *et seq.*, 181; Blake's Annals of Dorchester, (12mo. Boston, 1846,) p. 25.

† In June, 1638, the General Court of Plymouth Colony, taking into consideration the complaint "that the freemen were put to many inconveniences and great expences by their continuall attendance at the Courts," ENACTS, "for the ease of the severall Colonies and Townes within the Government, that every Towne shall make choyce of two of their freemen and the Towne of Plymouth of foure, to be Committees or deputies to joyne with the Bench to enact and make all such lawes and ordinances as shall be judged to be good and wholesome for the whole," &c. &c.

In accordance with this Order of the Court, the first representative Legislative Assembly of the Colony convened at Plymouth, on the 4th of June, 1639, when Deputies from six towns made their appearance.

Plymouth was represented by William Paddy, Manasseh Kempton, Jr., John Cooke, Jr., and John Dunham.

Duxbury, by Jonathan Brewster and Edmund Chandler.

Scituate, by Anthony Annable and Edward Foster.

Cohannet (which received the name of Taunton at the Court which met on the 3d of March, 1639–40,) by Mr. John Gilbert and Henry Andrews.

Sandwich, by Richard Bourne and John Vincent.

Yarmouth, by Thomas Payne and Philip Tabor.

Barnstable was not represented until December, when Mr. Joseph Hall and Mr. Thomas Dimmack appeared as its Deputies.

— *See Brigham's Plymouth Colony Laws, pp. 63, 66; Baylies, Part I. pp. 304–5.*

The first Assembly of Representatives in Massachusetts, convened at Boston, on the 14th of May, 1634. — *See Savage's Winthrop*, i. 128–30.

‡ Eddy; Baylies, Part II. pp. 66, 67.

§ Mass. Hist. Coll. III. 2, XIV. 253, 254, 265–6, XX. 34–5.

‖ Baylies, Part II. p. 71; Eddy; Mass. Hist. Coll. XIV. 91; Davis's Morton, pp. iii, 100–1, 379, 385; Russell's Guide to Plymouth, (12mo. Boston, 1846,) p. 252; Mitchell's Bridgewater.

In this year, 1673, John Dunham bought into "the purchase," and became an inhabitant;* and represented the Town at the Court holden at Plymouth in the month of September.†

On the 3d of July, 1673, Watuspaquin, the "Black Sachem," and his son William, had sold, for the sum of £15, to Benjamin Church, of Duxbury, house carpenter, and John Tompson, of Barnstable, a tract of land "lying att and neare the township of Middleberry." Thompson seems to have taken up his residence in the town soon after, and in the years 1674 and 1675 represented Middleborough in the General Court ‡

1675. May 14. Watuspaquin and his son William "make over to John Tompson, Constant Southworth," and others, of Middleborough, "all that tract of land which we now have in possession, called commonly Assowamset neck or necks, and places adjacent," as security for other lands, deeded at the same time, against the claims of other persons thereupon; upon the condition that, if the purchasers of said lands are not disturbed in their possession, then the Indians "are not to be outed of Assawamsett neck."§

June. The General Court sitting at Plymouth in this month, "ordered and impowered Mr. Constant Southworth and Willam Paybody to run the line between Bridgwater and Middlebery. In case of the Treasurers [Southworth's] neglect, that then Nathaniell Thomas, Leiftenant Morton, and John Thompson to supply." ‖

As we have gradually approached that eventful period in our history, called King Philip's War, we have deviated in some instances from our chronological arrangement, in order that we might present an unbroken view of "the grounds, beginning, and progress" of this, "The Great Indian War" of New England, so far as connected with the history of the town of Middleborough.

About the year 1656 the two sons of the good King Massasoit (who had, in the year 1632, assumed the name of Ousamequin) presented themselves before the Court, at Plymouth, and requested that English names might be given to them. Wamsutta, the eldest, was accordingly complimented with the name of ALEXANDER, and Pometacom, his brother, with that of PHILIP; and they departed highly gratified, without doubt, by these imposing titles.¶ The Treaty which had been made at Plymouth, by their father, on the 22d of March, 1620–1, and which had been renewed and confirmed by the Chieftain and his eldest son Mooanam, (subsequently called Wamsutta, and finally, by the English, as we have seen, named Alexander,) on the 25th of September, 1639, "being honestly intended," says Belknap, "on both sides, was kept with fidelity as long as Massasoit lived." Not long before his death, as we are informed by Hubbard, the aged Chief "came to Mr. Brown's, that lived not far from Mount Hope, bringing his two sons, Alexander and Philip, with him, desiring that there might be love and amity after his death, between his sons and them, as there had been betwixt himself and them in former times."**

*Eddy.—We presume him to have been the son of Deacon John Downham, or Dunham, who died March 2, 1668–9, aged 80. If this supposition is correct, he died in the year 1692, aged 79.—*See Russell's Guide, p.* 254; *and also Davis's Morton, pp.* 227, 384, *note.*

† Baylies, Part II. p. 71.

‡ Drake's Book of the Indians, Book III. p. 58; Eddy; Baylies, Part II. pp. 71–2.

§ Drake, Book III. p. 58.

‖ Brigham's Plymouth Colony Laws, p. 176.

¶ Davis's Morton, p. 287, note; Drake's Book of the Indians, Book III pp. 3, 6.

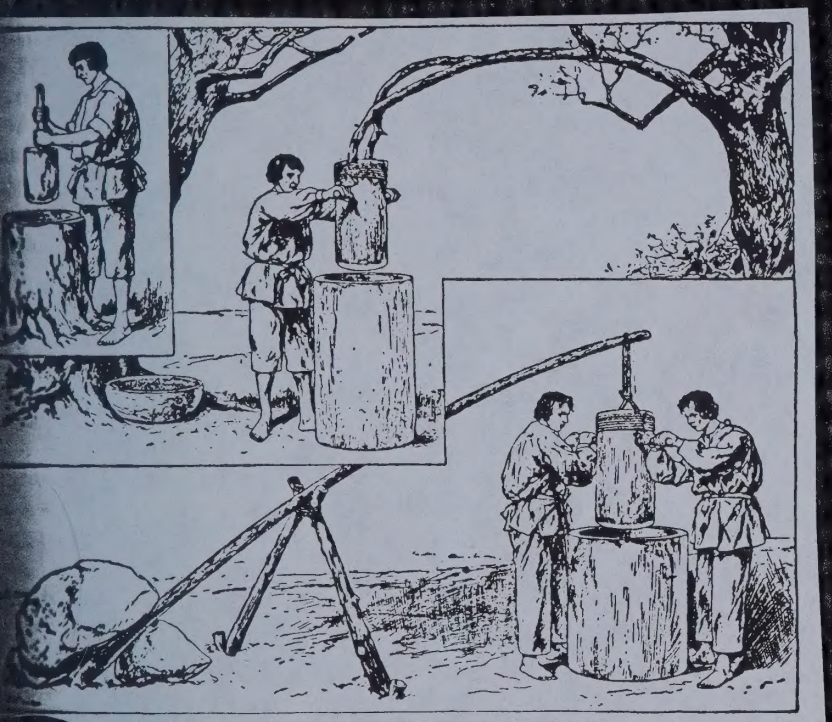
** Bradford and Winslow, pp. 35–7; Davis's Morton, pp. 53–5, 210–11; Prince, pp. 186–8; Drake, Book III. p. 3; Belknap's American Biography, ii. 214; Hubbard's Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians, (sm. 4to. Boston, 1677,) p. 8.

Ousamequin died between the 13th of September and the 13th of December, 1661, and was succeeded by Alexander, who, says Mather, "was not so faithful and friendly to the English as his father had been," but, if we may believe Hubbard, "had neither affection to their persons nor yet to their religion." In this last particular the new Sachem but followed the example of his father, who, although a firm friend to the English, was strongly opposed to the introduction of Christianity among his subjects; and even attempted, in or about the year 1653, when a negotiation was pending for the sale of the lands now included within the town of Swansea (vulgarly called *Swansey*) to extort from his civilized neighbors a promise "never to attempt to draw away any of his people to the Christian religion." Scarcely was Alexander invested with the power of Sachem, as successor to his father, when he was suspected — whether with reason, or not, is exceedingly doubtful — of entertaining hostile designs against the English. "For some of Boston," writes Mather, "having been occasionally at Narraganset, wrote to Mr. Prince, who was then Governor of Plymouth, that Alexander was contriving mischief against the English, and that he had solicited the Narragansets to engage with him in his designed rebellion." Upon the receipt of this intelligence, Alexander was forthwith summoned "to attend the next Court in Plymouth, for their satisfaction and his own vindication." The Sachem not appearing on the appointed day, the Governor and magistrates ordered Major Josiah Winslow to bring him before them. Major Winslow, accompanied by Major William Bradford and some eight or ten armed men, immediately proceeded towards Mount Hope, where he expected to find the Chieftain; "but by a good Providence," says Hubbard, "he found him whom he went to seek at an Hunting-house," situated midway between Plymouth and Bridgewater, on Munponset Pond,* and surprised him at breakfast with a party of his followers. Irreconcilable as are the accounts of Winslow's reception, we will merely state that Alexander accompanied the Major to Duxbury, to the house of Mr. William Collier, where he was met by a number of the magistrates, and after a conference, according to Mather, was consigned to the care of Major Winslow, until Governor Prince should arrive from Eastham, where he resided. All accounts agree that the Chief was taken sick at the house of Major Winslow, at Marshfield; and that, being sent home to his own residence, he there died within a few days. His death was ascribed by many, at the time, to the treatment which he received at the hands of the English, as we may gather from some remarks of Hubbard; and such always has been, and still is, a very general belief. Mather tells us that "proud Alexander, vexing and fretting in his spirit, such a check was given him, that he suddenly fell sick of a fever." And here we probably find the true cause of his illness; namely, his exquisite sensitiveness to what he had a right to consider a most grievous affront, an indelible stain upon his honor as a Sovereign Prince.†

On the death of Alexander, which occurred in the summer, probably in the month of July, of 1662, Philip became Chief Sachem of the Wampan-

*In the north part of the town of Halifax. The road from Plymouth to Bridgewater passes along the southwest margin of this pond. See Mass. Hist. Coll. XIV. 280–1.

† Hazard's State Papers, (4to. Phil. 1792,–4) ii. 449–51, compared with Knowles's Memoir of Roger Williams, (12mo. Boston, 1834,) p. 406; Drake's Book of the Indians, Book II. pp. 27–8, 100, III. pp. 6–9, 17; Old Indian Chronicle, (12mo. Boston, 1836,) p. 160; Hubbard's Narrative, pp. 8, 9–10; Francis's Life of Eliot, in Sparks's Am. Biog. V. 138; Baylies, Part II. pp. 233–4; Davis's Morton, pp. 287–9, *note*, 426–7; Hutchinson's Massachusetts, i. 252, *note*.



GRINDING CORN IN COLONIAL TIMES

THE LORD OF MISRULE: THOMAS MORTON OF MERRY MOUNT

Philip Ranlet

When writing of Thomas Morton, historians have been preoccupied with his celebrations at Merry Mount. The interpretations of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Charles Edward Banks, and Charles M. Andrews, among others, have all been influenced by Morton's famous maypole. In his *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History,* Adams attacked Morton, that "amusing old debauchee and tippler," as "a born Bohemian and reckless libertine, without either morals or religion . . . [who] . . . probably cared no more for the Church of England than he did for that of Rome."[1] Banks, who was less sympathetic to seventeenth-century Puritanism, praised Morton as "the one emigrant to our shores who added something to the joy of life in the drab communities that surrounded him. . . ."[2] More equivocal was Andrews who gave Morton credit for some good qualities, but who finally characterized him as "a bohemian, a humorist, a scoffer, and a libertine, with no moral standards of thought or conduct."[3] Such preoccupation with Morton's challenge to the New England Way obscures a long and colorful career, and calls for a reexamination of the life of "Mine Host of Ma-re-Mount."

Little is known about Morton before the early 1620s. The year of his birth is uncertain although 1579-1580 has been suggested as an approximate date.[4] Morton's career, however, is well documented. Trained as a lawyer at Clifford's Inn,[5] he practiced in the West Country of England,

1. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History: The Settlement of Boston Bay, The Antinomian Controversy, A Study of Church and Town Government* (Boston, 1892), 1:170n.

2. Charles Edward Banks, *History of York, Maine* (Boston, 1931), 1:159.

3. Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, Conn., 1934), 1:333. Andrews is by no means the last historian to be preoccupied with Morton's maypole. For a recent example, see Michael Zuckerman, "Pilgrims in the Wilderness: Community, Modernity, and the Maypole at Merry Mount," *New England Quarterly,* 50 (1977): 255-277. Zuckerman believes that "Morton and his concupiscent crew," by meeting the Indians in an "erotic mode," forced upon the Pilgrims and Puritans "their most haunting anxieties, that immersion in the wilderness and association with the Indian would weaken the discipline they maintained so tenuously over their own impulses." Unfortunately, Zuckerman presents no new historical evidence for this viewpoint, and it does not appear to be valid. The Pilgrims arrested Morton because he conspicuously sold guns to the Indians and not because he was concupiscent. If Morton had limited himself to an "erotic mode," he probably would not have been removed from Merry Mount. For a good discussion of this point, see Alden T. Vaughan, *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675* (Boston, 1965), 89, 90.

4. Donald F. Connors, *Thomas Morton* (New York, 1969), 17.

5. Will of Thomas Morton of Clifford's Inn, Gent., 23 Aug. 1643, in Charles Edward Banks, ed., "Thomas Morton of Merrymount," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Histori-*

Wells, being the same that Samuel had purchased from Hugh McCulloch (*ibid.*, 130:267). In a quitclaim deed dated 18 June 1841, William Durrell of Kennebunkport, yeoman, and Rosamond Durrell his wife, sold for seventy-five dollars to Anna Morrison of Sanford, widow of the late John Morrison, a forty-two-acre farm in Sanford, now occupied by the said Anna (*ibid.*, 240:400).

William Henry Durrell was a farmer, and lived at Kennebunkport. He died there, 26 April 1863. No will or administration is recorded for either him or his wife in York County.

Children, born at Kennebunkport:

i. JAMES FRANCIS[5], b. 9 Dec. 1827; d. at Kennebunk, 24 Apr. 1915; m. at Portland, Me., 26 June 1860, MELVINA FULLER, b. there, 27 Jan. 1838; d. at Kennebunk, 22 Dec. 1912, dau. of John and Cyrenia (Williams) Fuller. No children.

ii. WILLIAM BENJAMIN, b. 1 Aug. 1834; d. at Kennebunk, 21 May 1918; m. at Biddeford, Me., FIDELIA ANN HAMILTON, b. at Waterboro, Me., 10 July 1857, dau. of Noah[6] (*James*[5-4], *Benjamin*[3], *Abel*[2], *David*[1]) and Clarissa (Leaver) Hamilton. Children (surname *Durrell*): 1. *Nellie Rosamond*, b. at Kennebunk, 18 Dec. 1875; d. 24 Nov. 1878. 2. *Lola Hamilton* (adopted), b. at Waterboro, 2 Apr. 1884. 3. *Adalbert* (adopted), b. 6 Sept. 1906.

iii. CHARLES EBEN, b. 16 Apr. 1838; d. 1 Sept. 1842.

[To be continued]

David Curtis Dearborn is the Society's Director of Reference Services.

where in November 1621[6] he married Alice Miller, a wealthy widow.

After the death of Alice Miller's first husband, her eldest son, George, deprived her of her property rights. George Miller appears to have had a hostile personality as the following incident demonstrates. The Phipps family had allowed the Millers to use the Phipps church pew, but only while the Phippses did not need the extra space. Eventually, the Millers could no longer sit in that pew, but young Miller could not accept its loss. One Sunday he

> came into church during service and the pew door being locked he proceeded violently, with many oaths, to break it open, whereupon Mrs. Phipps in ordering him to desist called him "Boy." In his rage Miller replied: "Dost thou call me boy? Gods wounds! If I were in bed with thee thou shouldst knowe that I were no boye." He then leaped over the door and tumbled on the heads and necks of the gentlewomen seated with the Phipps family, finally landing in the lap of Mrs. Phipps where he sat despite her protests. Then he picked her up bodily and threw her over the railing into the aisle. . . .[7]

Alice Miller, confronted by this "younge man of an untemperate condicon and most incorgble," hired lawyer Thomas Morton, whom she had known for several years, to represent her.[8] Not surprisingly, Morton found much that was desirable in this widow with claims to a comfortable estate, and he courted her successfully. But her son suspected Morton of coveting the estate for himself, a very likely possibility. Before her remarriage, Miller convinced his mother to lease the property to him as a test of Morton's affections. After signing the lease, however, she changed her mind, but her son refused to return the land deed. Subsequently, Morton and Alice Miller, by then man and wife, became embroiled in litigation with her son.[9]

Young Miller won the court fight and retained control of the property, although his mother was granted a yearly income of fifty pounds from the estate. Obviously disappointed by the outcome, Morton left his wife in February 1623. Charles Edward Banks found Morton's desertion of his wife to be "sufficient confirmation of all that has been said against him."[10]

---

cal Society, 58 (1924-1925): 163, hereafter MHS, *Proceedings.* See also the title page of Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan,* ed. Charles Francis Adams, Jr. (Boston, 1883; reprint ed., New York, 1967 [orig. publ. Amsterdam, 1637]), 107. All dates in this paper are given as Old Style, except that the year is taken to start in January.

6. According to Banks, 6 Nov. 1621 was the wedding day. However, George Miller, Alice's eldest son, gave the date as 15 Oct., while Morton stated the ceremony took place about 13 Nov. Since Banks listed the parish as Tilehurst, Berkshire, he must have examined the parish records although he did not cite them. Banks, ed., "Morton of Merrymount," 58 (1924-1925): 153; Miller vs. Moreton *et al.,* 3 June 1622, *ibid.:* 171; To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, 6 July 1622, *ibid.:* 181.

7. Abstract of John Phipps vs. George Miller *et al.,* n.d., *ibid.:* 155.

8. To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, 6 July 1622, *ibid.:* 180.

9. These developments can be followed in the Chancery Proceedings, *ibid.:* 165-170.

10. Banks believed Miller's charge that Morton sold his wife's clothes when he deserted her. Since Morton at one time accused Miller of selling his mother's clothes, the charge

Certainly desertion is not commendable, but the marriage had a considerable problem facing it—George Miller. Not only had Miller opposed it, he sought to prevent it by hiring women to talk against Morton.[11] Furthermore, Miller obviously hated his stepfather. Even after Morton had left his wife and had gone to New England, his stepson spread the false rumor that Morton had fled to escape a murder charge.[12]

During 1624 Morton, "being then minded to travaile [travel],"[13] joined the party of a Captain Wollaston who planned to settle in New England. After receiving land patents from the Plymouth Company,[14] Wollaston and Morton, together with some servants, sailed to New England, arriving in June 1624.[15] Colonizing the present site of Quincy, Massachusetts, they called their settlement Mount Wollaston. Soon after, Wollaston took most of the servants to Virginia, either because New England did not agree with his expectations or because they lacked provisions.[16]

Despite Wollaston's departure, Morton remained and soon annoyed his English neighbors, especially the Plymouth colonists. The most famous incident involved the erection of a maypole, accompanied by "revels and merriment after the old English custome," to celebrate spring's arrival. Enlivened by the consumption of "a barell of excellent beare," the servants danced around the maypole with Indian women. Morton saw no wickedness in "this harmeles mirth made by younge men (that lived in hope to have wives brought over to them . . .)."[17] But his celebration of "the feasts of the Roman goddess Flora, or the beastly practices of the mad Bacchanalians" dismayed William Bradford and the Pilgrims. Especially disturbing were several poems composed by Morton, the "Lord of Misrule," which tended to "lasciviousness . . . and scandal." Merry Mount (as Mount Wollaston had been renamed by the merrymakers) had become "a school of Atheism."[18]

---

in both cases was probably a legal fiction. Chancery Decrees and Orders: Miller v. Morton, 8 June 1623, *ibid.:* 187, 188; Banks, ed., *ibid.:* 159, 160; To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, 6 July 1622, *ibid.:* 183.

11. The Joynt and Severall Answeres . . . , 3 June 1622, *ibid.:* 174.

12. Thomas Wiggin to Sir John Cooke, 19 Nov. 1632, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* 3rd Ser., 8 (1843): 323, hereafter MHS, *Collections.* A stepson was referred to as a son-in-law during this period.

13. To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, 21 June 1636, in Banks, ed., "Morton of Merrymount," MHS, *Proceedings,* 59 (1925-1926): 92.

14. Henry Gardiner, *New England's Vindication,* ed. Charles Edward Banks (Portland, Me., 1884 [orig. publ. London, 1660]), 23; Samuel Maverick, "A Brief Description of New England and the Several Townes therein, together with the Present Government thereof," MHS, *Proceedings,* 2nd Ser., 1 (1885): 238.

15. Donald Francis Connors, "Thomas Morton of Merry Mount: His First Arrival in New England," *American Literature,* 11 (1939): 164.

16. William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647,* ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (New York, 1952), 204-205; Thomas Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln, 12 Mar. 1631, in Alexander Young, ed., *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from 1623 to 1636* (Boston, 1846), 309.

17. Morton, *New English Canaan,* 276-280.

18. Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation,* 205, 206.

Not surprisingly, servants of surrounding settlements flocked to Merry Mount, the scene of "drunkenness, riot and other evils." Morton entertained all comers and so was charged with "inveigling of men's servants away from them." As a further jolt to the sensibilities of the Plymouth residents, several of Morton's followers had relationships with Indian women, or as Bradford put it, some were "abusing the Indian women most filthily, as it is notorious."[19]

Morton's successful fur trade with the Indians only exacerbated his relations with his neighbors. His prosperity came partly from outwitting the Pilgrims; he once journeyed to the Kennebec before them, and his "boate . . . gleaned away all [furs] before they came," much to their surprise.[20] Primarily, Morton prospered because he sold guns and powder to the Indians. The "Lord of Misrule" was neither the first nor the only trader then arming the natives,[21] but he was the most conspicuous. Not only did he sell guns, but he carefully taught the Indians how to use them.[22]

Faced with the "terror" of armed Indians, Morton's neighbors tried to "admonish him to forbear those courses," but he rejected all their supplications with "scurrilous terms full of disdain." When a second attempt also failed, the Plymouth inhabitants and other nearby colonists decided to expel him from the area.[23] The planters contributed funds to pay for his removal, and Plymouth dispatched Miles Standish with eight men to arrest Morton. Whether he surrendered to avoid bloodshed, as he later wrote, or whether he was captured while too drunk to load his gun properly, as Bradford claimed,[24] the result was the same—Morton's sojourn at Merry Mount had ended, at least temporarily. In 1628 a messenger, armed with letters to the Council for New England describing Morton's conduct, conveyed him to England.

Although the planters banished the Lord of Misrule himself, they allowed "some of the more modest" of his followers to remain at Merry Mount. They apparently continued their revels until Puritan John Endicott, while "visiting those parts, caused that maypole to be cut down and rebuked them for their profaneness. . . ."[25] That must have quieted the "modest" remnant.

Despite the letters of complaint, Morton escaped punishment. Bradford believed that Morton had "fooled of the messenger" and so lessened the force of the charges. Whatever the English authorities thought about

19. "Governour Bradford's Letter Book," MHS, *Collections,* 1st Ser., 3 (1794): 61; Bradford and others to the Council for New England, 9 June 1628, *ibid.:* 62; Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation,* 208.

20. Morton, *New English Canaan,* 282, 295.

21. "Bradford's Letter Book," MHS, *Collections,* 1st Ser., 3 (1794): 61.

22. Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation,* 206, 207.

23. *Ibid.,* 208, 209.

24. Morton, *New English Canaan,* 286; Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation,* 209, 210.

25. Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation,* 206, 210.

him, they did not prevent his return to New England in 1629.[26] Plymouth's own agent in England, Isaac Allerton, brought the Lord of Merry Mount back to America "for base gain." To make Allerton's offense still worse, he boarded Morton and even employed him as a scribe. But upon discovering Plymouth's hostility, Morton returned to Merry Mount, his "old nest."[27]

In 1629 Merry Mount fell within the patent of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and Morton quickly irritated the Puritans. Continuing "to advaunce the dignity of the Church of England,"[28] his activities caused Edward Johnson to write in 1654:

> The third Church of Christ gathered . . . at Dorchester [in 1631] . . . ; neere about this Towne inhabited some few ancient Traders, who were not of this select band, but came for other ends, as Morton of Merry Mount, who would faine have resisted this worke, but the provident hand of Christ prevented.[29]

Morton created other problems for Massachusetts. According to his book, *New English Canaan,* he refused to sign an agreement which declared "that in all causes, as well Ecclesiasticall as Politicall, wee should follow the rule of Gods word." He supposedly rejected the agreement because it should have specified that "nothing be done contrary or repugnant to the Lawes of the Kingdome of England."[30] Since only his version has survived, his stated reason for opposition must be treated with caution. Morton annoyed Governor Endicott, who probably notified John Winthrop and the chief officials of the Massachusetts Bay Company about Morton's behavior in their territory.

In addition, it seems that by this time Winthrop had heard George Miller's old rumor. As early as November 1627, Winthrop had been told that Thomas Morton had murdered a business associate and fled to New England.[31] If Morton truly was a murderer, then an arrest warrant would be an excellent way to rid the colony of a troublemaker. The Puritan leader, a former justice of the peace, certainly knew how to procure the issuance of a warrant. Since Winthrop brought the document to New England in 1630, he must have planned to use it at the earliest opportunity.[32]

Morton himself provided the opportunity. During the summer of 1630, he accidentally shot a gun at some Indians who had not brought him a

26. *Ibid.,* 210.

27. *Ibid.,* 216, 217.

28. Morton, *New English Canaan,* 283.

29. [Edward Johnson], *Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, 1628-1651,* ed. J. Franklin Jameson (New York, 1910), 69.

30. Morton, *New English Canaan,* 306-307.

31. "Notebook of cases before the Court of wards and liveries," 21 Nov. 1627, *Winthrop Papers* (Boston, 1929-1947), 2:44.

32. Morton wrote that the warrant came with the Winthrop fleet. Morton, *New English Canaan,* 311.

canoe. Although the wounded Indian was not severely hurt,[33] Morton was in serious trouble. On 23 August 1630, the magistrates, during the first meeting of the Court of Assistants, ordered him to appear before them. According to Samuel Maverick, they believed Morton to have had "a design to sett the Indians at varience with" the colony,[34] and on 7 September the magistrates accordingly tried him "for his many injuries offered to the Indians." The court, complying with the warrant, ordered that he be returned to England to answer the murder charge. In addition, since Morton allegedly had mistreated the Indians, his house was to be "burnt down to the ground in the sight of the Indians for their satisfaction. . . ."[35]

In December 1630 the Puritans sent Morton back to England once more. Before the ship left the sight of land, they set his house on fire so that he could see the smoke. Infuriated by the scene, he later wrote that

> piety it selfe will add a voice to the bare remnant of that Monument [the burned traces of Merry Mount], and make it cry for recompence, (or else revenge,) against the Sect of cruell [Puritans].[36]

Once cleared of the groundless murder charge, Morton complained to Sir Ferdinando Gorges of the Council for New England. Gorges did nothing. However, Gorges took notice after Sir Christopher Gardiner, a man of considerable social status, complained about his treatment by the Puritans when charged with immorality. Philip Ratcliffe, whose ears had been cropped because he criticized the colony, added his resentment. Moved by these charges, Gorges and his associate, Captain John Mason, pressured the Privy Council for action against Massachusetts.[37]

On 19 December 1632, the Privy Council appointed a special committee to examine the charges of Morton, Gardiner, and Ratcliffe. Announcing its opinion a month later, the committee declared that regardless of

> the faults or fancies (if anie be) of some particular men upon the general Government, or principall adventurers (which in due tyme is further to be

33. Samuel Maverick is the source for these statements. Since Maverick claimed that "no hurt [was] donn," the Indian apparently was not seriously wounded. Samuel Maverick to the Earl of Clarendon, [1661?], New York Historical Society, *Collections,* 2 (1869): 40, 41, hereafter NYHS, *Collections;* Dudley to Lincoln, 12 March 1631, in Young, ed., *Chronicles,* 321, 322. Although Charles Francis Adams, Jr., accepted Maverick's charge that the shooting was a pretense, Adams missed Maverick's point that the affair was an accident. To Adams, shooting an Indian was "trivial," and so had to be a pretext. See Adams's Introduction to Morton, *New English Canaan,* 46.

34. John Noble, ed., *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, 1630-1692* (Boston, 1904), 2:3; Maverick to Clarendon, [1661?], NYHS, *Collections,* 2 (1869): 40, 41.

35. Noble, ed., *Court Records,* 2:4; Dudley to Lincoln, 12 March 1631, in Young, ed., *Chronicles,* 321, 322; John Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal: "History of New England," 1630-1649,* ed. James Kendall Hosmer (New York, 1908), 1:53.

36. Dudley to Lincoln, 12 March 1631, in Young, ed., *Chronicles,* 321, 322; Morton, *New English Canaan,* 312, 313.

37. Richard Arthur Preston, *Gorges of Plymouth Fort* (Toronto, 1953), 282, 283; "Records of the Council for New England," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* 47 (1867): 113, hereafter Am. Antiq. Soc., *Proceedings.*

enquired into) [we] have thought fitt in the meane tyme to declare, that the appearances, were so faire, and the hopes so great that the Countrie would prove, both beneficial to this Kingdome, and profitable to the perticular Adventurers, as that the Adventurers had good cause to goe on cherefully with their undertakings. . . .[38]

The effective testimony of several Puritans in England as well as the aid of Sir Thomas Jermin, a supporter on the Privy Council, produced this decision. It must have stunned Morton and the others.[39]

In spite of this defeat, the enemies of the Bay Colony did not surrender. When on 28 April 1634 Archbishop William Laud became head of a new Privy Council Commission for Foreign Plantations, Gorges, Morton, and the others found a powerful friend to aid their cause, for Laud's committee had authority over colonial charters. The enemies of Massachusetts had done their best to turn Laud against the colony, and they succeeded.[40] Laud's committee reexamined the charges against Massachusetts. In testimony before the committee Edward Winslow, the colony's agent, attempted to defend New England, but Morton countered him.[41] Despite the testimony of Winslow, Laud's committee declared the Massachusetts charter void; Gorges would eventually be appointed governor of the territory.

Morton, gleeful over the verdict, described his own work against the charter in a letter to William Jeffreys, an "old planter" who lived near Merry Mount. The Lord of Misrule added that Ratcliffe "was comforted by their lordships with the cropping of Mr. Winthrop's ears which shows what opinion is held amongst them of King Winthrop. . . ."[42] That prospect must have delighted Morton almost as much as it did Ratcliffe. When Jeffreys received the letter he brought it to Winthrop, who alerted the magistrates about Morton's "railing speeches and threats against this plantation, and Mr. Winthrop in particular."[43]

Thomas Morton did more than rail against the Puritans. In May 1635 the Council for New England hired him to bring in the courts a *quo warranto* proceeding against the Massachusetts charter. He concluded the action successfully.[44]

About the same time Morton began writing *New English Canaan,* an obvious attempt to create additional difficulties for New England. Dedicated to Laud's committee,[45] the book detailed its author's complaints about Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies. He conveniently listed

38. W. L. Grant and James Munro, eds., *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, 1613-1783* (Hereford, England, 1908), 1:183-185.

39. Winthrop, *Journal,* 1:99, 101.

40. Preston, *Gorges,* 295-297.

41. Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation,* 272-274.

42. Morton to William Jeffreys, 1 May 1634, in Winthrop, *Journal,* 2:194-196.

43. *Ibid.,* 1:130.

44. "Council Records," Am. Antiq. Soc., *Proceedings,* 47 (1867): 129.

45. Morton, *New English Canaan,* 109.

twelve of their "many unwarrantable Tenents," all certain to inflame Laud. These "tenents" included their failure to use the Book of Common Prayer, the performance of marriages by magistrates, the baptism of only the children of church members, and the limitation of the Eucharist to church members. Anyone, wrote Morton, who did not accept those beliefs "they say is a very reprobate."[46] He also included some of their political variations, such as the issuing of warrants with no mention of the king's name. Moreover, "mine Host of Ma-re-Mount" showed how the New Englanders took "the Law in their owne hands, (there being no generall Governour in the Land . . .),"[47] a condition which Morton must have expected Gorges to remedy.

Published in 1637, the book received censure from the Puritans and their supporters. In England Matthew Cradock "utterly disliked" it and sent a copy to Winthrop.[48] Bradford believed it to be "an infamous and scurrilous book against many godly and chief men of the country, full of lies and slanders. . . ."[49] On the other hand, Samuel Maverick, no friend to the Puritans, saw it as "a good description of the Cuntry . . . , only in the end of it he [Morton] pinched to[o] closely on some in authoritie there. . . ."[50]

After 1635 Morton's activities in England are unknown. He apparently became involved in the dispute over Maine between Gorges and George Cleeve. At one point Gorges cashiered Morton from any connection with the Council for New England, but that split was not permanent.[51]

Sometime after the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642, Morton decided to return to New England. He wanted to "looke after" his land there, and he had been hired by Sir Alexander Rigby, a claimant to part of Maine, as his agent in the colonies.[52] Arriving in December 1643, Morton wintered at Plymouth and continued to irritate its residents. For example, he hunted illegally on the property of Miles Standish, an old enemy.[53]

Upon leaving Plymouth, Morton discovered that the town of Braintree occupied the site of Merry Mount. Bitterly angry, he journeyed about

46. *Ibid.*, 330-334.

47. *Ibid.*, 306, 288.

48. Cradock did not identify what he had read, but from his reaction, the year, and the reference to Morton, the "writing" was probably a manuscript copy of *New English Canaan.* Matthew Cradock to Winthrop, 15 March 1637, *Winthrop Papers,* 3:379.

49. Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation,* 217.

50. Maverick to Clarendon, [1661?], NYHS, *Collections,* 2 (1869): 40, 41.

51. Connors, *Morton,* 26, 27; Gorges to Henry Vane, Winthrop, and others, 23 Aug. 1637, *Winthrop Papers,* 3:493. The split had ended by 1641. In that year Morton signed the charter of Agamenticus, Maine, one of Gorges's colonies. See the Agamenticus charter in Banks, *History of York,* 1:439.

52. Maverick to Clarendon, [1661?], NYHS, *Collections,* 2 (1869): 40, 41; Will of Thomas Morton of Clifford's Inn, Gent., 23 Aug. 1643, in Banks, ed., "Morton of Merrymount," 58 (1924-1925): 163; Edward Winslow to Winthrop, 7 Jan. 1644, *Winthrop Papers,* 4:428, 429.

53. Winthrop, *Journal,* 2:154; Winslow to Winthrop, 7 Jan. 1644, *Winthrop Papers,* 4:428, 429.

New England promising land to anyone he thought might support the Royalists. Such actions, Morton believed, would be rewarded when Gorges arrived as governor of the territory.[54] Recruiting for the king in Puritan New England was foolhardy, and Morton soon paid the penalty.

Shortly after Morton's arrival, Winslow had sounded a familiar Puritan warning:

> Morton is the odium of our peop[le] at present, and if he be suffered (for we are diversly minded) it will be just with God who hath putt him in our hands [that he be punished] and [if] we will foster such an one that afterward we shall suffer for it.[55]

Another Puritan, John Browne, demanded that Morton be punished for *New English Canaan*.[56] Finally, in June 1644 Governor Endicott, concerned about a possible Royalist plot, ordered Morton's arrest.[57]

During Morton's trial in September 1644 before the Court of Assistants, the magistrates confronted him with his letter to Jeffreys, his book, and his prosecution of the *quo warranto* against the colony. Hoping to receive additional evidence from England, the court decided to jail him until it arrived.[58] In May 1645 their prisoner petitioned the General Court for his freedom, but the petition was rejected.[59] No additional evidence had been sent from England, and after a year as a prisoner "without fire or beddinge . . . [during] a very cold winter . . . ,"[60] the magistrates fined him and allowed him to leave the colony. Morton traveled to Agamenticus, Maine, one of Gorges's settlements, and died there in 1647.[61] The Lord of Misrule died "haveing as he said and most believed received his bane by hard lodging and fare in prison. This was done by the Massachusetts Magistrats. . . ."[62] The Puritans had finally silenced Thomas Morton. But, in the end, the Lord of Misrule's spirit could not be quenched. The maypole of Merry Mount lived on in literature, and *New English Canaan*'s stinging rebuke of the New England Way could not be silenced.

54. Maverick to Clarendon, [1661?], NYHS, *Collections,* 2 (1869): 40, 41; William Coddington to Winthrop, 5 Aug. 1644, *Winthrop Papers,* 4:490, 491.

55. Winslow to Winthrop, 7 Jan. 1644, *Winthrop Papers,* 4:428, 429.

56. John Browne to Winthrop, 26 June 1644, *ibid.,* 4:465.

57. John Endicott to Winthrop, 23 June 1644, *ibid.,* 4:464.

58. Winthrop, *Journal,* 2:194-196.

59. His petition is reprinted in Adams's Introduction to Morton, *New English Canaan,* 89, 90.

60. Maverick to Clarendon, [1661?], NYHS, *Collections,* 2 (1869): 40, 41.

61. Winthrop, *Journal,* 2:196.

62. Maverick, "Brief Description," MHS, *Proceedings,* 2nd Ser., 1 (1885): 238, 239.

Philip Ranlet is a doctoral candidate at Columbia University. He wishes to thank Professor Alden T. Vaughan for his advice and comments. This article is dedicated to the memory of the author's mother, Elizabeth Ranlet.


THE ORIGINS OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS
WHO HAVE KNOWN DESCENDANTS
William Bradford
1. Austerfield
William Brewster
2. Scrooby
Francis Eaton
William White
3. Sturton-le-Steeple
Edward Fuller
Samuel Fuller
4. Rendenhall
Henry Samson
Edward Tilley
5. Henlow
John Alden
6. Harwich
Peter Brown
7. Billericay
Isaac Allerton
John Billington
Edward Doty
Degory Priest
continued
Thomas Rogers
Richard Warren
8. London
Moses Fletcher
9. Sandwich
James Chilton
10. Canterbury
William Mullins
11. Brighton
John Howland
12. Huntingdonshire
Stephen Hopkins
13. Wotton-u-Edge
George Soule
14. Eckington
Edward Winslow
15. Droitwich
Richard More
16. Shipton
Myles Standish
17. Isle of Man
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
NORTHUMBERLAND
DURHAM
CUMBERLAND
WEST-MORELAND
YORK
Hull
Duxbury
Standish
Liverpool
R. Mersey
Austerfield
Bawtry
ANGLESEY
CARNARVON
DENBIGH
FLINT
CHESHIRE
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
MERIONETH
MONTGOMERY
LEICESTER
RUTLAND
NORTHAMPTON
CARDIGAN
RADNOR
HERE-FORD
PEMBROKE
CARMARTHEN
BRECKNOCK
MONMOUTH
GLAMORGAN
OXFORD
BUCKINGHAM
WILTS
SURREY
SOMERSET
DORSET
DEVON
CORNWALL
Dorchester
Cowes
I. of Wight
Plymouth
Dartmouth
Plymouth Harbor
ENGLISH CHANNEL
NORFOLK
Yarmouth
SUFFOLK
Groton
AMSTERDAM
Leyden
Delftshaven
Meuse R.
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
FRANCE
PRUSSIA
1. Austerfield
2. SCROOBY
4. Rendenhall
6. Harwich
7. Billericay
9. Sandwich
12. Huntingdonshire
13. Wotton-under-Edge
15. Droitwich
14. Eckington
16. Shipton
17. Isle of Man


THE ORIGINS OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS
WHO HAVE KNOWN DESCENDANTS
William Bradford
1. Austerfield
William Brewster
2. Scrooby
Francis Eaton
William White
3. Sturton-le-Steeple
Edward Fuller
Samuel Fuller
4. Rendenhall
Henry Samson
Edward Tilley
5. Henlow
John Alden
6. Harwich
Peter Brown
7. Billericay
Isaac Allerton
John Billington
Edward Doty
Degory Priest
continued
Thomas Rogers
Richard Warren
8. London
Moses Fletcher
9. Sandwich
James Chilton
10. Canterbury
William Mullins
11. Brighton
John Howland
12. Huntingdonshire
Stephen Hopkins
13. Wotton-u-Edge
George Soule
14. Eckington
Edward Winslow
15. Droitwich
Richard More
16. Shipton
Myles Standish
17. Isle of Man
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
NORTHUMBERLAND
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
WEST-MORELAND
YORK
LANCASHIRE
17. Isle of Man
Hull
Duxbury
Standish
Liverpool
Austerfield
1. Austerfield
Bawtry
2. SCROOBY
3. Sturton-le-Steeple
R. Mersey
CHESHIRE
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
ANGLESEY
FLINT
DENBIGH
CARNARVON
MERIONETH
MONTGOMERY
16. Shipton
LEICESTER
RUTLAND
NORFOLK
Yarmouth
4. Rendenhall
15. Droitwich
14. Eckington
RADNOR
CARDIGAN
HEREFORD
NORTHAMPTON
5. Henlow
SUFFOLK
Orford
6. Harwich
PEMBROKE
CARMARTHEN
BRECKNOCK
MONMOUTH
GLOUCESTER
OXFORD
BUCKINGHAM
HERTFORD
7. Billericay
GLAMORGAN
13. Wotton-under-Edge
MIDDLESEX
9. Sandwich
WILTS
SURREY
10. Canterbury
SOMERSET
12. Huntingdonshire
DEVON
DORSET
HAMPSHIRE
11. Brighton
Dorchester
Cowes
I. of Wight
CORNWALL
Plymouth
Dartmouth
Plymouth Harbor
ENGLISH CHANNEL
NORTH SEA
AMSTERDAM
Leyden
Delftshaven
Meuse R.
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
FRANCE
PRUSSIA

DOCUMENTING YOUR MAYFLOWER LINEAGE

by Elizabeth Pearson White, FASG

The purpose of documentation is to enable others to retrace the steps you took to prove the authenticity of your statements — today, ten years from now, or fifty years from now. You want your work to be accurate and authentic so that your grandchildren, great-grandnieces and nephews can prove that what you have written is the truth. Your lineage should not be simply a list of names. Without dates of birth, marriage and death, and the names of the places where these events took place, a lineage record is meaningless. To document your records, the sources where you obtained your information should be indicated in your records. Without that, no hereditary society today will accept a lineage.

When starting your family research, a lot of information may be obtained from relatives, the family bible, county histories and family genealogies which have already been published. But printed sources often contain faulty, untrue statements which are repeated time and again, and the fallacy is not uncovered until someone attempts to find the authority for the statement that appeared in the first place. Meanwhile a whole body of false lineages may have been put into the record. In one instance in Mayflower files, one error led to thirty-nine rejections. If you have Aunt Nellie's handwritten history of the family, be grateful and start documenting its statements. It will probably be basicly right. But, to be authentic, documentation must be found in public records.

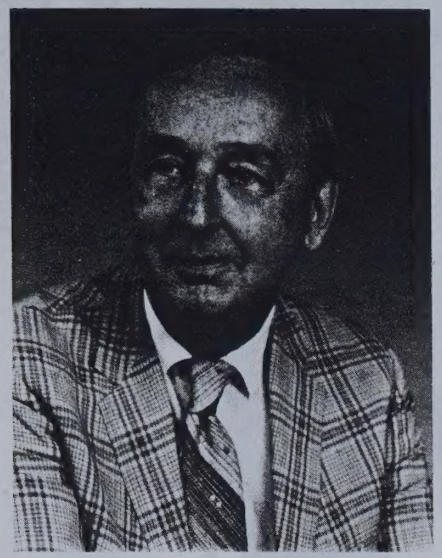
The important thing to remember is that good documentation comes from books and records which were created for other than genealogical purposes. Census records were first created to find out how many men were of military age in the community, and how many boys would be of fighting age in ten or fifteen years. The 1790 census lumped women of all ages together because their ages were unimportant to our founding fathers. Some census records before 1800 were taken for the specific purpose of listing all men who could be called upon to fight and Quakers who refused to bear arms were instead forced to pay a fee. This makes good documentation because these records were not made for the convenience of genealogists. However, they prove where our ancestors lived at a certain time. Starting in 1850, the names of all members of the household were listed by the census taker. Before that, only the head of the household was listed, and ages of other family members were given in five or ten year groups. By 1880, each person's relationship to the head of the household was listed, often showing grandparents and grandchildren all in the same household. The place of birth of each person, and also of the parents of each person, was given — a treasure to the searcher who is trying to prove where his ancestors were born.

The vital records of birth, marriage, and death can usually be found in the town halls and state archives of New England, and in the county courthouses and state archives of the rest of the country. In recording vital records in New England, the original home of our Mayflower ancestors, each head of a family was assigned a page in the record book in the town hall. On this page he listed his own name, birthplace and date, and his wife's name and all of their children as they were born or baptized. Their deaths were sometimes recorded here also. When these children planned to marry, they were required to file their intentions at the town hall at least three weeks previous to the marriage date. The actual marriages were later filed by the minister who performed the ceremony, just as they are today. The records of the town hall were quite separate from the church records. Therefore, there are two possible sources for finding your documentation for births, marriages and deaths. If the town hall and its records burned down, you have the church records. The trouble here is that the early protestant minister considered that his records of birth, marriage and death were his own private property. When he went to a new parish, he usually took his records with him. You will notice that the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* has often published minister's records which cover several different communities as the minister moved from parish to parish. However, Quaker Meetings and Catholic and Lutheran churches have always kept their records at their places of origin.

In New England, when a family moved to a new location, the father was assigned a page in the records at the new town hall. He often re-registered the earlier children again in the new location. Therefore, one can find the first two children of John Shaw and his wife, Dorcas Gee, registered in Marlow, New Hampshire: Eunice Shaw, born there 24 June 1798 and Marilla Shaw, born there 7 November 1801. The Shaw family moved first to Unity, New Hampshire and then to Billymead, now Sutton, Vermont. There, starting in 1805, John Shaw listed his children all over again, so that the birth records for Eunice and Marilla Shaw can be obtained from both New Hampshire and Vermont. This can be misleading.

Probate records can be found at the county courthouse in most areas, or in the probate districts which, in Connecticut and Vermont, do not correspond with the county jurisdictions. In Vermont, deeds were kept in the towns. In Rhode Island, both deeds and probates were kept in the towns. The Connecticut State Library at Hartford has fortunately gathered all early probate records and deeds and the searcher can find them there. Probate records were required by the government for the orderly and just inheritance of property, not for genealogical purposes. They are therefore excellent documentation when interpreted properly. Be sure to look for wills, assignment of dower, partition, final accounting, guardianship records, intestate records, inventories, appraiser's accounts — everything connected with settling an estate. If everyone agreed about how the property was to be divided, there was often no probate record of division made in the early days. But in this case, look in the land records which should show the change in ownership.

SURGEON GENERAL BEN B. JOHNSON, M.D. OF MISSISSIPPI (1978-1981)



Dr. Ben B. Johnson

Our Surgeon General Ben B. Johnson, a descendant of William Bradford, was born in Brooklyn, New York, May 23, 1920, the son of Dr. Louis C. and Jeanne Payne Johnson. Graduating in 1944 from Harvard Medical School with an M.D. degree, he trained as an intern and resident physician at the hospitals associated with Cornell and New York University, and as a research fellow at Cooperstown, N.Y. and Stanford University Hospitals. After serving as a medical officer in California and Alaska, Dr. Johnson returned to Stanford as Instructor in Medicine and Director of the Diabetes Clinic. In 1959 he became director of the section on renal disease in a relatively new Department of Medicine at the University of Mississippi School of Medicine in Jackson.

In 1968 Ben was elected a Fellow of the American College of Physicians, and is an active member of a number of other professional societies. He served as Chairman of the Mississippi Nutrition Council, 1962-64. A charter member of the National Kidney Foundation of Mississippi, he has served as its Secretary-Treasurer, Chairman of the Medical Advisory Board, Delegate Trustee from Mississippi to the National Board, and in 1971-73 as Secretary of the National Medical Advisory Council. He is a diplomat of the National Board of Medical Examiners and of the American Board of Internal Medicine and of the Nephrology Subspecialty Board.

Formally listed as Ben Butler Johnson, M.D., Associate Professor of Medicine in the faculty directory, students and colleagues in the laboratory and clinics call him Dr. Ben. Married to Barbara Ann Maltby of Denver, a medical laboratory technologist, they have three sons and two daughters who are all junior members of the Mississippi Society, in which Ben has served as Surgeon, 1971-1974 and as Governor, 1974-1980. His valuable services as a member of the Executive Committee of the General Society are much appreciated.

NAVIGATION IN 1620: THE MAYFLOWER WAS ONE OF THE LUCKY ONES!

by Robert A. Harper

[This paper was presented at a recent meeting of the Myles Standish Colony of the Florida society, in Naples, Florida. It was so well received and is of such general interest that it is presented here to a wider audience.]

When I first thought of discussing the art of navigation in 1620 and how Captain Christopher Jones of the *Mayflower* probably employed that art, I was thinking primarily about the "tools of the trade" then in use. I had read a bit about them and knew they were pretty crude and inaccurate from a present day point of view. Still I had not realized how few and simple and crude these tools really were! More importantly it had not occurred to me to think at all about the unusuallness of an ocean crossing in those times. Of course, I knew that Columbus had made it and that Magellan's lieutenant had finally finished the first circumnavigation of the globe a hundred years earlier in 1523 (after losing four out of five of his original fleet of ships and all but eighteen of his original crew of some three hundred men). But I had not put the hiring of a commercial trading ship like the *Mayflower* for an ocean passage into its proper perspective. While it wasn't as breathtaking or history making perhaps as our modern space explorations, it would certainly have had everyone "glued to the tube" if TV had then existed.

Now, why is that?

It is hard for us in this present age to imagine what it would be like not to know certain things — not to know how wide the oceans were; — not to know how far Virginia was from Plymouth, England; — or from Plymouth, Massachusetts, for that matter; not to know, even, how far a ship would sail in a day or a week, and not to have any maps or charts of a good degree of accuracy for any country or any ocean on earth. All of this lack of knowledge was the situation in 1620.

Overleaf:

COURTESY OF THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Portion of the so-called Drake Map, dated 1585, which John Aubrey, Acting Head of Special Collections, kindly provided from the Edward E. Ayer Collection. A map like this must have been used by Captain Christopher Jones when he sailed the Mayflower from Plymouth, England to the new Plymouth Colony in New England, called "Virginia" on this map.


THE Famous West Indian voyadge made by the English fleete of 23 shipes and Barkes wherin were gotten the Townes of S. IAGO: S. DOMINGO, CARTAGENA and S. AVGVSTINES the same beinge begon from Plimmouth in the Monethe of September 1585 and ended at Portsmouth in Iulie 1586 the whole course of the saide Viadge beinge plainlie described by the pricked line Newlie come forth by Iaquinto
Virginia
Florida
WEST INDIA
The Ocean commonlie called the South Sea
The Contrye of Peru
North
E.
Sauthern or 15 Degrees to the Southwarde of Riode la Plata by the Streites of Magellanus

Now, of course, there was much sea-faring in 1620. Ships plied the English Channel, sailed up and down the coast of France and Spain and swarmed all over the Mediterranean. But this was mainly coastal, short voyage work. In any trip the length of time out of sight of land was minimal. This is not to say that there were not trans-ocean voyages in the period. The gold trade between Spain and Mexico had flourished for years. The cost in lives and ships and cargo had been and continued to be terrific. The many recent treasure finds from sunken Spanish galleons in waters near Florida bear vivid witness to the awful costs of these many passages. These costs in men, ships and cargo were due in great degree to the ignorance of the crews and skippers and navigators. In those days the practitioners of the sea-faring art had no ability to determine *accurately*, on a day to day basis, their ship's position or what dangers lurked.

So much for the state of the art in 1620. What do we find as to how many of these meager skills were possessed by Captain Jones and his crew aboard the *Mayflower?*

We know that Captain Jones was a part owner of the ship and had been Captain for several years. He had just returned from Spain, hauling a cargo of wine. He had traded at least once across the North Sea to Norway from Newcastle. He was probably as well suited to, and trained for, an Atlantic crossing as the average sea captain of the day. To understand just what is involved in making a crossing, whether back then or today, it is necessary to get a bit technical and describe some of the essentials of navigation and passage making in any age. When out of sight of land, the navigator depends on several aids to keep his ship on course and to position her daily on the surface of the ocean. Then, as now, the first aid is the compass. With it he can shape his course steadily toward his destination. All of us know something about a compass, and how its north-seeking needle points to magnetic north. The discovery and use of the magnetic properties of ferrous compounds goes way, way back in time. One of the first references to a *mariner's compass* is found in the writings of one Alexander Neckam, born in A.D. 1157. We are sure its *use* antedated this date by years and perhaps centuries.

The next aid is the *traverse board.* This is a kind of abacus and memo pad. A circle at the top of the board is divided by radii into the thirty-two points of the compass. Each of these radii has eight holes, evenly spaced out from the center, into which pegs can be fitted. The bottom of the board is divided by eight horizontal lines and these lines also have holes evenly spaced across their length for pegs. Then, as now, a steering watch was four hours long, divided into eight thirty minute *glasses* of time. At the turning of each glass (every thirty minutes), the quartermaster put a peg in the proper radius hole to represent the average course steered during the period and the proper *glass number* of the watch period. So, at the end of four hours, there would be eight radius pegs showing courses steered. Also, at the end of each *glass*, a peg is inserted in the proper horizontal line for the glass number, and in the proper hole of that line to represent the

best estimate of speed run, or the result of a speed measurement by the *log ship.* At the end of each four hour watch, the navigator transferred the average course made good and distance made good from the pegs to his *slate.* At the end of the day (every twenty-four hours at noon), the summation of these data was entered into his *accompt book.* Today we call this record the ship's LOG.

Since the navigator knew where he had come from, this daily reckoning let him deduce his daily position. From the word *deduce* we get our present term *Dead Reckoning* or DR Position.

How did the navigator measure his speed as mentioned above? The *log ship* (chip?) consists of a marked line (knots tied every so often on it), fastened to a triangular piece of wood, the *ship,* weighted at one side so it would float upright in the water. Being verticle as it floated, it would, theoretically at least, remain stationary in the water as the ship sailed away from it and the marked line ran out so many *knots* in so many seconds, measured by a glass. Since the knots were calculated at a certain distance apart, a count of them in the measured time gave the miles per hour directly. This sounds quite impressive, but the results were far from anything but rough guesses. They were at least better than no guess at all. So, with compass, traverse board and log-ship, the 1620 navigator kept his accompt book of daily positions — his dead reckoning positions. Even today, with much better compass, perfect timing devices, and excellent speedometers, the position of a ship at sea by dead reckoning may be off by a substantial mileage each day.

This leads us to the next aid the navigator must have. He must have a way of figuring his position from day to day by means independent of course or speed. The aid he uses to do this is an altitude measuring device with which he can determine the altitude of some heavenly body and, with suitable calculations, find from this measurement his location at sea. In 1620 the aids used were either an *astrolabe* or a *Davis backstaff.*

This is where Celestial Navigation comes into the picture. Celestial Navigation, in all its mathematical and astronomical theory, is rather complicated but its basic principal is simplicity itself. Poets have referred to the heavenly bodies — the sun, moon, stars and planets — as the "Lighthouses of the Sky." This poetic fancy happens to be strict, practical fact. Consider for a moment. We are on the revolving earth. It revolves from west to east, and this motion makes it appear to us that the sun and all

Overleaf:

COURTESY OF THE EDWARD E. AYER COLLECTION, THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Remaining portion of the Drake Map, showing the eastern Atlantic Ocean.


Norwege
Sweden
Denmarke
Germany
Poland
Holland
England
France
Spaine
Portugall
AFRICA
Barbadoes
Bermudas
Virginia
Mount Holinwood
Bacill

other bodies rise in the East and set in the West. Imagine, if you will, a string running from the center of the earth to the center of a heavenly body. This string would cut the surface of the earth at a certain point at a certain time. This point is called the "GP" of the body. "GP" stands for "geographical position." It keeps changing from moment to moment as the earth turns. Today the GP's of fifty-seven navigational stars, four planets, the moon and the sun are listed in a Government publication issued annually and called the *Nautical Almanac*. This book lists these positions in terms of degrees North or South of the equator, and degrees West of an arbitrary line running through Greenwich, England. They are listed for every second of time of the year.

In 1620 no such handy volume existed. Tables of the "Declination of the Sun" for every day of the year were available, however. Declination is merely the astronomer's name for latitude and refers to the latitude on the earth's surface of the GP of the body. Now, remember a heavenly body moves westward in the sky rapidly, about 15 degrees an hour, but it moves slowly north or south. So a daily table of the sun's declination is useful.

Let's review a bit now. The aids available to Captain Jones in 1620 were the *compass*, the *traverse board*, the *log ship* and, of course, the *second glass* and *hour glass*. With these he did the best he could to keep his *accompt book*, or Log of daily dead reckoning position — his "DR." He used his *Davis backstaff* or *astrolabe* to measure the altitude of the sun. Today he would use a sextant. This beautifully accurate instrument in the hands of a skilled observer is capable of measuring altitude angles to one six-hundredth of a degree. Captain Jones with his instrument would do well to get within a degree — some six hundred times less accurate — on board the heaving and pitching *Mayflower*!

To do his best to keep from building up high cumulative errors in his dead reckoning *accompt*, Captain Jones practiced celestial navigation each day at high noon. High noon merely means that the sun is due north or due south of you, and is going from "rising" to "setting." At this moment we say it is on your meridian — not A.M. or P.M. Captain Jones's celestial navigation consisted of measuring the sun's altitude at his best estimate of its highest point for the day. This high point occurs at high noon (by a sun dial or compass). To make this measurement, the backstaff was probably used because it was a bit simpler on shipboard than an astrolabe. From the altitude of the sun, so obtained, and the declination for the day from the tables, Captain Jones could get his latitude by a simple calculation. We might mention here that Captain Allan Villiers carried a replica of a Davis backstaff on the voyage of *Mayflower II* and reported it quite useless for any meaningful accuracy. Even allowing Jones much greater accuracy than Villiers, due to more practice, it is doubtful if the latitudes obtained were much better than the DR figures which themselves were pretty awful by present day standards.

Now note that this bit of celestial observation only checked latitude. No attempt to obtain positions East or West of your departure was possible by

celestial observations at that time. It would be more than a hundred years later before longitude could be found at sea.

We have mentioned the sun only as a method to obtain latitude. For centuries navigators had known that the altitude of the Pole Star, Polaris, roughly equaled the latitude of the observer. At the time of the *Mayflower* voyage, it is likely that Captain Jones felt he could get better results from observations of the sun. Of course, he might have observed either from time to time.

Now, let's summarize. In 1620 the navigator could only check his latitude by observation on a heavenly body. For his East-West position he was completely dependant on his Dead Reckoning — his daily estimates of course and speed. Therefore, it was the practice to sail to the latitude of the destination at the start of a voyage, and then turn East or West as the case might be, and sail on until you "hit" something — that is, made your landfall. This method, called *parallel sailing*, continued for many years after 1620. It was cumbersome and slow but it was the best they had. It is quite obvious that, as a navigator felt he was approaching his destination, he wanted a very good look-out maintained!

There is a whole set of circumstances in seventeenth century sailing which must not be overlooked. We must remember the life aboard a ship at those times — the almost unbelievable discomfort, the monotony, week after week after week, the cold, the wet, the poor food coupled with hard physical labor. This terrible environment made it practically impossible to exercise the careful judgment and carry out the accurate calculations which, then as now, are absolutely essential in the practice of navigation. There is no wonder that whole fleets of ships were sunk and wrecked on unfamiliar shores, and that a seaman's life was hard and short in those far off times.

The *Mayflower* made history by carrying the Pilgrims to the New World. But never forget — SHE WAS ONE OF THE LUCKY ONES!

Robert A. Harper of Naples, Florida, vice Lt. Gov. of the Myles Standish Colony, of the Florida Society, and a descendant of Isaac Allerton, is an officer in the U.S. Power Squadron and is currently teaching their most advanced course, Celestial Navigation. The retired president of Columbia Mills, Mr. Harper is a regular contributor to technical journals of papers on new aspects of navigation. Mr. Harper's address is 4170 Crayton Rd., Apt. C3, Naples, FL 33940.

CHRISTMAS TEA IN PLYMOUTH

Final plans are now being made for a festive Christmas Tea at the Mayflower Society House in Plymouth on Sunday afternoon, December 7th, from one to five o'clock. Mrs. Miles of Taunton, Massachusetts, will be playing yuletide selections on her harp and a wassail punch and finger foods will be served.

We hope many will plan to attend and join in the Christmas spirit with their "Mayflower Cousins."

GIFTS TO THE MAYFLOWER SOCIETY HOUSE

Indiana Society — English chaise longue or day bed in Southeast bed chamber re-upholstered in fabric to match other furnishings in the room.

Mrs. Roy B. Doty of Indiana — A pair of brass fireplace jambs for the fireplace in the front parlor. These were given in memory of her husband, Roy B. Doty.

—RUTH B. HALL, *Chairman*

NEW APPOINTMENT IN PLYMOUTH OFFICE

Gov. Gen. E. Fred Low has announced the appointment of Eugene A. Stratton as assistant to Historian General Anne Borden Harding and office manager of the Plymouth office. Mr. Stratton is a member of the Massachusetts Society's Board of Assistants and editor of their newsletter, *The Compact.* He will reorganize our office on a modern up-to-date business basis to cope with the proposed expansion of the office and the increased growth of the Society.

Gene Stratton is a graduate of George Washington University and has studied at American and Georgetown Universities. He has served as Intelligence Officer with the Government, and as Chief, Division of Data Processing for the Bureau of Land Management, Lakewood, Colorado. He is a free lance writer and his genealogical articles have been accepted by *The American Genealogist, The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* and *The Mayflower Quarterly.* He is an elected member of the American MENSA Society. He lives in Plymouth with his wife and two younger children. He also has four older children by his deceased first wife. The Society is happy to welcome Gene Stratton and wishes him well in his work with the General Society.

PASSENGERS ON THE MAYFLOWER

The newly published membership roster of the Connecticut Society of Mayflower Descendants contains a list of Mayflower passengers with more than the usual amount of information about them and their families. With some slight changes, it is presented here. According to Ruth W. Galwey, corresponding secretary, the original list was compiled by the late Bertha Hempstead Lee Benn of Manchester, Connecticut from *The Mayflower And Her Log* by Dr. Azel Ames which was based on *Bradford's History of Plimoth Plantation,* and on the works of Col. Charles E. Banks. The final format was arranged by Doris A. Hellyar, present Governor and Assistant General. Additional material was added from *The American Genealogist* (Oct. 1976) 52:198-208 and from *Mayflower Families One, Two and Three.* This list is arranged by family groups, together with friends and servants living with them.

John Carver, Deacon of Church in Leyden, Holland; elected on board the *Mayflower* as first governor; re-elected 1621; died at Plymouth Spring 1621.

Katherine, his wife, died soon after her husband.

Desire Minter, a maid about 20 years of age; probably returned to England about 1625.

John Howland, servant, 28 years of age; married Elizabeth Tilley; died at Plymouth in 1672.

Roger Wilder, servant, died a few days after landing; unmarried.

William Latham, a boy servant; returned to England about 1640 and thence to the Bahamas where he died between 1645 and 1651.

An unidentified maid-servant; died a year or two after her marriage.

Jasper More, a boy, 7 years of age; died December 1620.

William Brewster, about 53 years of age; ruling Elder at Leyden and Plymouth until his death in 1644.

Mary, his wife, died at Plymouth, 1627.

Love Brewster, their son, married Sarah Collier, daughter of William Collier; died 1650 or 1651 at Duxbury.

Wrestling Brewster, youngest son; died unmarried before 1644.

Richard More, a boy about 6 years of age; married Christian Hunt; died about 1696 at Salem.

Mary More, sister of Jasper, Richard and Ellen, although Bradford called her a "brother"; died the first winter.

Edward Winslow, about 25 years of age; married (1) at Leyden Elizabeth Barker; married (2) at Plymouth Susanna ( ) White, widow of William White; elected Governor 1633, 1636 and 1644; died at sea 1655 near island of Hispaniola (now Santo Domingo) while Cromwell's commissioner to the West Indies.

Elizabeth, his first wife, died at Plymouth, 1621.
George Soule, servant, about 20 years of age; married before 1627 Mary Bucket (?Becket); died at Duxbury before 1680.
Elias Story, servant; died first winter, unmarried.
Ellen More, a little girl; died first winter.

William Bradford, about 32 years of age; married (1) at Amsterdam Dorothy May; married (2) at Plymouth, Alice (Carpenter) Southworth, widow of Edward Southworth; member of John Robinson's church in Holland; elected Governor 1621 and, with the exception of three years, served annually until his death in 1657.
Dorothy May, his wife, about 23 years of age; died by accidental drowning December 7, 1620, off Cape Cod; first recorded death in New England.

Isaac Allerton, about 34 years of age; married (1) at Leyden, Mary Norris; married (2) at Plymouth, Fear Brewster, daughter of Elder William Brewster; married (3) Joanna Swinnerton; Deputy Governor 1621; died at New Haven, Connecticut before Feb. 12, 1659.
Mary, his wife; died the first winter.
Bartholomew, his son, about 8 years of age; returned to England where he married; living in 1650.
Remember, his daughter, about 6 years of age; married Moses Maverick; died at Salem between 1652 and 1656.
Mary, his daughter, about 4 years of age; married Thomas Cushman; died at Plymouth, 1699.
John Hooke, boy servant, died soon after arrival.

Samuel Fuller, deacon at Leyden; first physician at Plymouth; married (1) Alice Glasscock; married (2) Agnes Carpenter; married (3) Bridget Lee who came to Plymouth later with their young child.
William Butten, servant, died November 6, 1620, the only passenger who died on the voyage.

John Crackston died in 1621; **John Crackston,** his son, died in 1628.

Myles Standish, about 36 years of age; married (1) Rose ( ); married (2) Barbara ( ); he was of Leyden but not a member of the Leyden church; was chosen captain in 1621; died at Duxbury, 1656.
Rose, his wife, died the first winter at Plymouth.

Christopher Martin; agent to England and treasurer of the company; died the first winter; his wife also died the first winter.
Solomon Prower, his servant; died the first winter.
John Langemore, his servant, died the first winter.

William Mullins, joined the Pilgrims at Southampton; died the first winter.
Alice, his wife; died the first winter.
Joseph, their son; died the first winter.
Priscilla, their daughter, married John Alden; died after 1650.
Robert Cartier, servant; died the first winter.

COURTESY OF PLIMOTH PLANTATION, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

This full scale replica of the original Mayflower *was built in England and sailed to Plymouth, Mass., by Capt. Alan Villiers in 1957.*

William White, about 28 years of age; died the first winter.
Susanna, his wife; married (2) Edward Winslow.
Resolved, their son, about 5 years of age; married (1) at Scituate Judith Vassall, daughter of William Vassall; married (2) at Salem Abigail Lord, widow of William Lord; died between 1690 and 1694, the last male survivor but one.
Peregrine, his son, born in Cape Cod Harbor, the first recorded birth in New England of English parents; married Sarah Bassett, daughter of William Bassett; died at Marshfield in 1704, the last survivor of the Mayflower passengers.
William Holbeck, servant; died the first winter.
Edward Thompson, servant; died before reaching Plymouth Harbor.

Stephen Hopkins, not of Leyden church, name of first wife unknown; married (2) Elizabeth Fisher; died 1644.
Elizabeth, his wife, died at Plymouth between 1640 and 1644.
Giles, his son by his first wife, about 15 years of age; married Katherine Wheldon; died before April 16, 1690.
Constance, his daughter by first wife, about 11 years of age; married Nicholas Snow at Plymouth; died at Eastham 1676.
Damaris, his daughter by second wife, married Jacob Cooke; died before 1669.
Oceanus, his son, born at sea; died 1621.
Edward Doty, servant; not of Leyden church; name of first wife unknown; married (2) at Plymouth Faith Clark, daughter of Tristram Clark; d. 1655.
Edward Leister, servant; not of Leyden church; removed to Virginia where he died before 1651.

Richard Warren, not of Leyden church; his wife, Elizabeth, with five daughters, came in the *Ann;* died at Plymouth 1628.

John Billington, executed for the murder of Jno. Newcomen in 1630.
Eleanor, his wife; died at Plymouth 1660.
John, his son, at least 15 years of age; died before 1630.
Francis, his son, about 14 years of age; married, at Plymouth, Christian (Penn) Eaton, widow of Francis Eaton; died at Middleborough 1684.

Edward Tilley, died the first winter.
Agnes Cooper, his wife, died first winter.
Henry Sampson, "cousin"; married at Plymouth Anne Plummer; died at Duxbury 1684.
Humility Cooper, "cousin"; returned to England after 1627 where she died between 1627 and 1651.

John Tilley, about 47 years of age; died "a little while after they came ashore."
Joan (Hurst) Rogers, his wife, died the first winter.
Elizabeth, his daughter, about 13 years of age; married John Howland; died Swansea 1687.

Francis Cooke, not more than 37 years of age; his wife, Hester Mahieu, with their three children, came in the *Ann;* died at Plymouth 1663.
John, his son, about 10 years of age; married at Plymouth Sarah Warren; died 1695, the last male survivor of the Mayflower passengers.

Thomas Rogers, brought his son, Joseph; the rest of his children came later; died the first winter.
Joseph Rogers, his son, about 12 years of age; married Hannah ( ) before 1633; died at Eastham 1678.

Thomas Tinker, his wife and son died the first winter.

John Rigdale, died the first winter.
Alice, his wife, died the first winter.

James Chilton, never landed; died in Provincetown Harbor, December 8, 1620.
His wife, possibly named **Susanna Furner,** died the first winter.
Mary, his daughter, about 13 years of age; married at Plymouth John Winslow, brother of Edward; died at Boston, 1679.

Edward Fuller, brother of Samuel Fuller, died the first winter.
Ann, his wife, died the first winter.
Samuel, a son, lived with his uncle, Dr. Samuel Fuller; married at Scituate Jane Lathrop, daughter of John Lathrop; died at Barnstable, 1683.

John Turner, died the first winter, two sons died the first winter, a daughter is said to have come later.

Francis Eaton, married (1) Sarah ( ); married (2) probably Mrs. Carver's maid, name not known, married (3) Christian Penn; died 1633.
Sarah, his wife, died the first winter.
Samuel, his son, "a suckling child"; married (1) Elizabeth ( ); married (2) at Plymouth Martha Billington, daughter of Francis Billington.

Moses Fletcher, married at Leyden Sarah, widow of William Dingy; died 1621.

John Goodman, died the first winter.

Thomas Williams, died soon after landing; unmarried.

Degory Priest, married at Leyden Sarah, widow of John Vincent and sister of Isaac Allerton; she came later with her third husband and two daughters by Degory Priest; he died the first winter.

Edmund Margeson, died the first winter, unmarried.

Peter Brown, a single man but afterwards married twice; died 1633.

Richard Britteridge, died in December 1620, the first death after landing.

Richard Clarke, died soon after landing; unmarried.

Richard Gardiner, after a few years became a mariner and left the colony; died at sea.

Gilbert Winslow, about 20 years of age, brother of Edward Winslow; returned to England about 1626; died in 1650.

John Alden, about 21 years of age; not of Leyden church; hired at Southampton, a cooper; married Priscilla, daughter of William Mullins, died at Duxbury 1687, the last survivor of the signers of the Compact.

John Allerton, a sailor on the *Mayflower* who decided to join the colony; died the first winter.

Thomas English, hired to be master of the shallop; died 1621.

William Trevore; Ely, a hired man; **Dr. Giles Heale;** and **"Master" Leaver** about whom no more is known.

THE HISTORIAN GENERAL'S COLUMN

by Anne Borden Harding

"The James Chilton Family," *Mayflower Families Two,* page 21 n, carries the caveat, "No confirmation was found for daughters Mary and Abigail suggested in LEONARD FAM. The Mayflower Society has accepted lineages based on a daughter Mary, for whom no substantiating proof was found."

On the contrary, proof that the Mary Leonard who married, first, Edward Newton and, secondly, David Brigham, was the daughter of Samuel Leonard and his wife, Abigail Wood, is found in Plymouth County Deeds 12:74, as follows: On 26 March 1706 Samuel Leonard, *Mary Newton,* Elizabeth Clark with her husband, Thomas Clark, and Mercy Adams with her husband, Richard Clark, sold to their uncle Nathaniel Wood all their right in the property of their grandfather, John Wood of Plymouth, deceased.

Proof that Mary (Leonard) Newton, widow of Edward Newton, was the same Mary Newton who married at Marlborough 21 October 1709, as his second wife, David Brigham is found in the will of the said David Brigham, dated 14 June 1748, six months before the death of his wife, Mary (Leonard) (Newton) Brigham. David Brigham gave to his wife the lifetime use of his "moveables" which, at her death, were to be distributed among his children and his "son-in-law" (i.e., step-son). The will is no longer to be found in Docket 7264 Series A at the Worcester County Courthouse but there remains a receipt to Jonas Brigham, executor of that will, from his siblings, for full satisfaction of benefits given "in the will of our Honored Father David Brigham of Westboro." This receipt was signed by John Brigham, Silas Brigham, Levi Brigham, Asa Brigham, Deborah Brigham and *Edward Newton.* A copy of this documentation is in the files of the Historian General.

WILLIAM STURTEVANT, DESCENDANT OF SAMUEL FULLER

by Barbara Lambert Merrick

In *Mayflower Families One,* "The Samuel Fuller Family," page 57, Family #8, Sarah[5] Fuller (Nathaniel[4], Samuel[3-2-1]) and her husband, Isaac Sturtevant, are credited with eight children. They actually had nine. The existence of their eldest son, named William, who has been omitted from this compilation, is proven by the division of the estates of Isaac Sturtevant and of his widow, Sarah Sturtevant's dower third [Plymouth County Probate 13:391-394; 19:530]. On the second day of December 1754, Robert Waterman, Noah Cushing, Samuel Waterman, John Waterman, Jr., and Benjamin Gilbert, all of Halifax, were empowered and directed by John Cushing, Judge of Probate, to "divide the real estate of Isaac Sturtevant, late of Halifax, Yeoman, deceased, in the following manner: Viz, you are in the first place to assign and sett off to Sarah Sturtevant, the said deceased's Widdow, her third or right of dower in the said Estate and the remainder of said estate you are to divide into nine equal parts or shares, viz: two nineths parts to William Sturtevant, the eldest son of the said deceased; one nineth part to Deborah Bearce, wife of Hezekiah Bearce; one nineth part to Martha Sturtevant; daughters of the said deceased; one nineth part to Isaac Sturtevant; one nineth part to Simeon Sturtevant; one nineth part to Samuel Sturtevant; one nineth part to Jesse Fuller Sturtevant; and also one nineth part to Nathaniel Sturtevant; ye sons of the said deceased . . . ."

The return on the division was made 24 December 1754 whereby the part "sett off to the widow, Sarah Sturtevant, for her dower thirds" included one half of the dwelling house at the South West end, one third of the barn plus a piece of land. William, the eldest son of the deceased, received for his two ninths portion "the other part of the house, a Hog House and 20 acres of land more or less." Each of the other named children was granted their ninth part.

Further proof of William's parentage is shown by the division of his mother, widow Sarah Sturtevant's dower third, as follows: "On the eighth of September 1766, Messieurs Zebulon Chandler & Ignatius Loring of Plimton and Lemuel Sturtevant of Halifax were impowered and directed to view the estate which Isaac Sturtevant, late of Halifax, deceased, died seized of, which was set off to his widow, Sarah Sturtevant, since deceased, as her dower thirds wherein and divide the same into nine equal parts and assign by metes and bounds, two nineths part thereof to William, the deceased's eldest son, one ninth part thereof to each of the said deceased's other children, viz: Deborah, Martha, Isaac, Simeon, Jesse Fuller, Samuel and Nathaniel . . . .".

The return of the division of the estate shows the following: ". . . two nineths part thereof, together with one nineth part which said William

PREPARATION OF LINEAGE PAPERS

by Winfield S. Weer, State Historian, Pennsylvania Society

[At the editor's request, Mr. Weer agreed to share with other State Societies the instructions he has prepared to help applicants for membership fill out lineage sheets properly. Other State Societies are invited to use this form as a guide for their own applicants, if they find it helpful.]

Please give all names in full, with places and dates of births, marriages and deaths. For each generation give the references where indicated, showing sources of information, stating name of author or compiler, title, date of publication, volume and page.

The first full name in each generation should be typed in capital letters, as follows: JOHN DOE married Mary Smith. Show the day, then the month and the year: 1 February 1881, except for Quaker or colonial dates which should be copied exactly as written: 2nd day, third month, 1708/9.

Certified or photostatic copies should be furnished where information has been obtained from sources such as Bible or other family records, gravestones, unpublished church, cemetery, town or similar records. In the case of Bible records, photocopies of the title page should be furnished, along with the names of the original and present owners. Newspaper articles should show the name of the newspaper and date and place of publication. Birth certificates should be the "long form" and show the names of parents. Death certificates and obituaries often name parents and spouse.

All documents of proof should be furnished in duplicate, one for Plymouth headquarters and the other for the Pennsylvania Society files.

References may be made to those Mayflower applications approved after January, 1980. However, a certified copy must be submitted for applications made to states other than the Pennsylvania Society. Among acceptable references are all volumes of *Mayflower Families Through Five Generations* and *The Mayflower Descendant,* in 34 volumes, edited by George Ernest Bowman and published by the Massachusetts Society between 1899 and 1937. The old *Mayflower Index,* published in 1932 and 1960, is no longer acceptable proof. The new, about to be published *Mayflower Ancestral Index* may be used as a guide, but cannot be used as proof in itself because it is an index of names, only, and does not include dates and places.

Published genealogies may be used if they are well documented; then cite the genealogy — author, date and place of publication, page numbers — and use the references they mention. Send photocopies of the title page and cited pages of such genealogies, and of all published books used; also of records from state archives, county histories, census records, town and church records. Photocopies of land and probate records should be identified by file and location: Will Book A-21, page 40, Chester Co. Register of Wills, West Chester, PA.

References to other hereditary and patriotic societies are not acceptable.

Please send $10 check payable to Treasurer, Pennsylvania Society of Mayflower Desendants for non-refundable genealogical fee. If you have questions, you may write to the State Historian, Winfield S. Weer, 475 Linden Lane, Media, PA 19063, to whom you should send your completed worksheet and fee.

AMENDMENTS TO BE CONSIDERED AT THE 1981 GENERAL CONGRESS

To amend Article III, Section 2, page 2 (1970 edition):
To amend by deleting the words, "signatures of the candidate and two members of such Society, who shall vouch for" so that, when amended, the paragraph will read as follows:

Section 2. Every application for membership in a State Society shall be made on a preliminary application blank provided by such Society. Such application shall bear the autograph SIGNATURE OF THE APPLICANT.

Submitted by the Massachusetts Society

To amend ARTICLE III, Section 1, page 2 (1970 edition):
To amend by deleting (b) beginning with the words "AND PROVIDED FURTHER (b) THAT NO ONE MAY BECOME A MEMBER OF ANY SOCIETY UNLESS PERSONALLY ACCEPTABLE TO IT."

Submitted by the Massachusetts Society

SOME NOTES ON COLONIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS

by Elizabeth Pearson White, C.G., F.A.S.G.

[On May 30, I was privileged to speak at the Spring Luncheon of the Michigan Society of Mayflower Descendants which met at Lansing this year. At the request of several members, excerpts of that speech are presented here.]

It was in the spring of the year, 360 years ago, that our forefathers planted their first crops of grain and vegetables at Plymouth. Many of their number had died during the great sickness of that first winter. With spring came hope for renewed vigor and health for those who remained. But one more, their leader, Governor John Carver, became ill while working in his field on a particularly warm spring day. He passed into a coma and, as William Bradford said, "never spake more." Those who were left carried on their work of building new homes in a new land and so Plymouth Colony survived.

Everyone knows that this small body of Pilgrims left England in search of freedom to worship their God in their own, simpler and more direct manner. They settled first in Leyden in Holland where they had the religious freedom they were searching for, but soon became disturbed when some of their children took on Dutch customs and married outside of the small English community. It was then, under the leadership of Pastor John Robinson and Elder William Brewster, that some of them decided to sail for New England, making a new life in strange unknown surroundings.

After the *Mayflower* had dropped anchor in Provincetown Harbor, but before they had gone ashore, our Pilgrim ancestors composed and signed a Compact or agreement by which law and order were assured from the beginning, in fairness to all. This Compact remains today one of the most important documents in the English-speaking world.

I mention this because, without that Mayflower Compact, we probably would not be here today. Many immigrants and adventurers came to the New World, both before and after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth in 1620, and many of them wrote and signed compacts before they landed, laying down the ground-rules by which they expected to exist. Most of them have been forgotten. But the Pilgrims in Plymouth hung together, worked together, settled their arguments and survived illness and hunger, laying the foundations of this country as we know it today.

As editor of the *Mayflower Quarterly* it is my job to help to carry out the purpose of those who organized the General Society of Mayflower Descendants in 1897, which was, "... to perpetuate to a remote prosterity the memory of our Pilgrim Fathers."

That is why the wording of the Compact has appeared on the back cover of every issue of the *Quarterly* since I became editor. That is why I feel that it is necessary to publish articles on colonial history, about the establishment of Harvard College in the very first years of settlement, about the Old Ship Church at Hingham, and about migration to and from one colony and another. People who join the Mayflower Society must have some small curiosity about how our ancestors lived and the problems and pressures they faced — pressures that were just as difficult for them to solve as the quite different pressures we have to face today. Our ancestors had small-pox epidemics, diptheria epidemics, typhoid epidemics that appeared suddenly and wiped out whole families. And they had no defense against these diseases as we have today. Sailors and merchants were captured by the Barbary pirates and the Algerines off the African coast and held as slaves for years. Only a few lived to be ransomed by their friends and townsfolk back home in New England. In colonial times, whole families were kidnapped by Indians and taken to Canada. It was quite common for good samaritans to travel through Indian camps trying to find and buy back white children who were then returned to their families. Many of these children never forgot the behavior they learned from their Indian captors in the wild backwoods. Some of them even returned to their Indian friends because that was the only life they had ever known and they found it difficult to adjust to life with blood relatives they had never seen since babyhood.

In colonial times wars were declared between England and France and unsuspecting sea captains from England's American colonies were captured and imprisoned when they had no idea that there was a war going on.

In addition to historical articles, the *Quarterly* needs genealogical articles that open up new lines to Mayflower passengers. We need articles correcting long-accepted errors in old lines so that all lineages in our files are accurate. Genealogical research has come a long way since the Mayflower Society was founded. Many more church records have been found. Census records are now on microfilm. Probate and land records have been microfilmed by the Church of the Latter Day Saints and can be borrowed through Mormon libraries all over the country — a service for which we owe them a debt of gratitude. Search out your unknown lines. You may be surprised to find a new Mayflower ancestor you never knew about.

When I published the list of Mayflower passengers last November, I received several letters questioning the identification of the parentage of Elizabeth Tilly, wife of Pilgrim John Howland. They quoted Francis R. Stoddard in his book, *The Truth About The Pilgrims,* which states that John Tilley "was apparently the one who was married to Elizabeth Comyngs on February 2, 1605, in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft . . ." Beware of that word "apparently," and all similar words, such as "probably" and "perhaps." The true identification of Elizabeth Tilley's parents was made in the reference, "English Ancestry of Seven Mayflower Passengers: Tilly, Sampson and Cooper," by Robert Leigh Ward, published in *The American Genealogist* (Oct. 1976) 52:198-208. There, in a well-researched article, Mr. Ward proves conclusively that Elizabeth Tilley's parents were John Tilley and his wife, Joan Hurst, widow of a man named Rogers. Mr. Ward quotes from records in the Henlow Parish Register in Bedfordshire,

where they were born. These children were all descendants of Stephen Hopkins of the *Mayflower*. Captain Smith's second marriage to widow Mercy (Waterman) Tinkham is listed in the Bible, with the date, as well as the place — Wiscasset, Maine. She was a descendant of Isaac Allerton. Her children by Joseph Tinkham, a descendant of Pilgrim Peter Brown, were all born at Liverpool, Nova Scotia, according to the public records there, even though the *Waterman Genealogy* states that they were born at Pownalborough, Maine. That is because a daughter moved there and recorded the names and dates of birth for all of her brothers and sisters there. But their actual records will be found in Liverpool, Nova Scotia.

Since one of Captain Smith's sons was named Godfrey Smith, I was able to connect this David Smith family with the Godfrey family of Chatham, Massachusetts. These Smiths and Godfreys had all gone to Barrington and Liverpool, Nova Scotia around 1765 and their children were born there. But, when they moved to Portland, Maine after the Revolution, the records show that they came from Casco Bay, in Maine, not from Nova Scotia because apparently the residents of the new Republic did not look kindly on Nova Scotians who had escaped the full brunt of the War. So if you have ancestors lost in Maine, look across the border in New Brunswich or across the Bay of Fundy in Nova Scotia. You may be pleasantly surprised to find the ancestors you are looking for.

The subject of colonial life and customs is completely absorbing and fascinating. Many happy hours can be spent delving into the past. By learning about the courage with which our ancestors faced their many problems, we may ourselves find the understanding and inspiration we need in our lives today.

Elizabeth Pearson White (Mrs. Henry G. R. White), editor of the *Quarterly*, is a Certified Genealogist and Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists. A descendant of Pilgrims Elder William Brewster and Stephen Hopkins, she is a member of the Illinois Society.

NEWS FROM THE MAYFLOWER SOCIETY HOUSE

Several of the patchwork quilts that are on display at the Mayflower Society House are featured in the April 1981 magazine, *Lady's Circle Patchwork Quilts*, Issue #22. Ms. Carter Houck, editor of the magazine, came to the house and took pictures of the quilts. Look on your newsstand for this magazine.

THE MAYFLOWER SOCIETY FACES THE COMPUTER AGE

by Eugene A. Stratton

Computers have already come to the General Society of Mayflower Descendants in the excellent word processing and indexing system used by Dr. Milton Terry of New Jersey for preparing the Society's Five Generation and Index books. Computers are also used in the printing and distribution of the *Mayflower Quarterly*, and a number of State Societies are using computerized mailing lists and other aids.

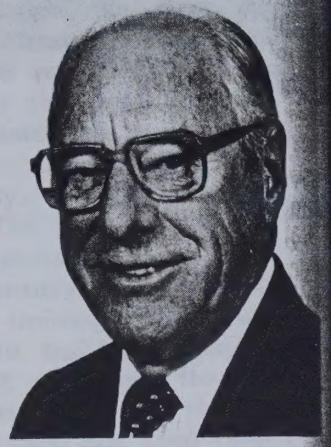
It is just a question of time, and not a long time, before computers will be used by the office of the Historian General to store and retrieve lineage information. When this happens, it promises to expedite considerably the processing of applications, to reduce considerably the need for documentation, and to decrease considerably the time necessary for an applicant to find documentation.

No particular type of computer system has been selected yet, and so it is not possible to describe anything in specific terms. What follows below is conjecture, but it might serve as a starting point for discussions on what the Society needs from a computer system.

In general, an application would come to the office of the Historian General — perhaps it might even be transmitted electronically from the State office — and the information would be transcribed and stored in computer-readable form. The documentation submitted would be analyzed as to whether it proved each element of information in the lineage; — that is, each generation's date and place of birth, death and marriage. The proven connection between generations would be noted. The results of the analysis would be coded and added to the stored application information. Essential documentation would be microfilmed, along with the application paper. Thereafter, any question about the application would be answered by the computer, and any paper forms considered necessary would be produced by the computer. For example, if a prospective applicant wanted a copy of his grandmother's approved application, the office clerk would type a command to the computer, and the desired copy would be produced on a printer controlled by the computer. Most likely, the computer would maintain the Society's master mailing list.

After approval of a new application, the paper form (only one copy would be needed) could be sent back to the State Historian. File space would be conserved because no copy would be kept at the office of the Historian General, although the information would still be available from the computer. The present cross reference system of card files would be eliminated, saving much clerical time, as well as space, for the computer would do all cross referencing.

GOVERNOR GENERAL WILLIAM NASH DAVIS OF RHODE ISLAND (1984-1987)



William N. Davis

William Nash Davis, a descendant of Pilgrim William White, was born in Somerville, Massachusetts, Jan. 3, 1908, the son of Samuel and Alice (Nash) Davis. He graduated from Cornell University with a Bachelor's degree in Hotel Management, followed by a Masters degree from Brown University.

He was manager of the Riverbank Court Hotel, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and when it became the Graduate House of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he managed it and all the undergraduate housing. In 1947, he joined the staff of Brown University to help plan, and then directed, the new dining facilities at Brown and Pembroke. Later he was appointed Director of Food, Housing and Physical Plant Operations.

He has been an officer in both the New England and the Massachusetts Hotel Associations, the Association of College and University Housing Officers, and the New England Association of Educational Buyers, as well as the Governor of the Rhode Island Society of Mayflower Descendants, and President of the Council of New England Governors. As Assistant Governor General, he was the liaison with the Mayflower House Committee, a Trustee of the Mayflower House Endowment Fund, and Chairman of the Electronic Data Processing Committee. He is also active in the Society of Colonial Wars, the Order of Founders and Patriots, Sons of the American Revolution, the Rhode Island Historical Society and the Providence Art Club.

He is married to Dorothy Speirs Quinby, a descendant of Pilgrims John Alden and Peter Brown, and a graduate of Tufts University. In following her hobby of genealogy, Dorothy has written four books on family lines. She is also editor of a column in the *Maine Old Cemetery Association Newsletter*. They are the parents of three children, Professor William Quinby Davis of Potsdam, N.Y., Beverly McCrillis of Littleton, Colorado, and Cynthia LaRoque of Hubertus, Wisconsin. They have nine grandchildren and all are Mayflower members.

SIDELIGHTS ON THE PURITANS AND PILGRIMS

by Ralph H. Cutler, Jr.

[*Mr. Cutler presented this interesting paper at the annual meeting of the New Jersey Society, in Plainfield, New Jersey Nov. 19, 1983. It is published here with their kind permission.*]

To understand the Puritans we must first look for their roots in the Middle Ages. Let us start with the reign of King Edward III and the year 1338 which saw the start of the Hundred Years' War with France. Parallel with his life span was that of John Wycliffe, a Yorkshireman, clergyman and professor of theology at Oxford. He was the first to suggest that man did not get to heaven by good works but rather by being selected by God. Man's relationship with God was a direct one, and priests were unnecessary. Wycliffe went on to attack the monasteries, ecclesiastical wealth, simony, the sale of indulgences, and clerical immorality. Because the Popes were then captive in France and were suspected of using English revenue to finance the French war against England, the king rather liked Wycliffe, and in 1377 the theologian called for the separation of the English church from Rome.

Wycliffe organized a band of preaching friars, sometimes called Lollards, to emphasize the authority of the Bible over Roman dogma. He urged a return to the pure and simple Christianity of the New Testament. He also made the first English translation of the Bible. Two hundred years later, in the reign of Henry VIII, there were still Lollard congregations in England. Between Wycliffe and Henry VIII there was an era of insecurity resulting from the fear of French invasion, peasant revolt, and the War of the Roses, and this tended to strengthen the authority of the church. In 1407 an Archbishop of Canterbury reaffirmed the supremacy of canon law over all secular legislation. As late as 1500 there were as many clergymen in the House of Lords as there were nobles. Nevertheless, vast changes were taking place. With the coming of the Tudors in 1485, the monarchy became strong by forming an alliance with the rising merchant class in the towns. Slowly becoming educated and hating the exactions of the clergy, this group demanded a mercantilist policy, organized by the state. The rise of Puritanism was rooted in the growth of this new middle class. On the Continent

the same phenomenon was taking place. Everywhere the Church had fallen into moral decay, and a growing national sentiment, backed by the wealthy trading centers, looked for leadership from their kings or dukes.

Another factor in the rise of Puritanism was the invention of the printing press. Caxton had brought the first press to London in 1477. By the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, perhaps forty per cent of the population could read. The passion for the printed word was remarkable. For the first time the Bible became available to the laity, while Renaissance authors from the Continent introduced humanist ideas. Oxford and Cambridge were already centers of classical study. In 1510 Erasmus lectured at Cambridge where he wrote "The Praise of Folly" which satirized the Church for venality and unchastity.

The first three Popes of the 16th century, one of whom was a Borgia and another a Medici, were thoroughgoing humanists, accustomed to luxury and devoted to building monuments in Italy. To raise money in 1517, Leo X conceived the idea of a huge sale of indulgences in each country. To get the European princes to co-operate he offered to let each one keep twenty-five per cent of the money, provided the balance came to Rome for the construction of St. Peter's basilica. The result of this was Luther's *Ninety-five Theses* at Wittenberg and the beginning of what we call the Reformation. It was as much economic as religious. For centuries huge sums had crossed the Alps to Rome in a perpetual tribute which medieval Europe had tolerated. Now, nationalist leaders saw this as an intolerable drain on state resources which were needed at home to expand or defend their borders. Ecclesiastical wealth was enormous. In addition to income from church property, tithes were collected from everyone. Three electors of the Holy Roman Empire, the archbishops of Trier, Mainz and Cologne, together owned vast and prosperous regions in what is now France and Germany. It has been estimated that in England one-third of all land belonged to the church. In Scotland fifty per cent of its annual income was absorbed by the clergy.

Luther succeeded because he was protected by the Elector of Saxony and because he used the press to great advantage. In the year 1518 only 150 books were printed in all of Germany, but by 1524, 990 documents had been published, most of them favoring the Reformation. Meanwhile Zwingli in Zurich called for a religion based on the Bible. In 1534, Henry VIII separated the English Church from Rome, and two years later Calvin published his *Institutes*. In 1554, John Knox fled from the persecutions of Mary Tudor. After five years in Geneva with

Calvin, Knox returned to Scotland to set up the Reformed Church there.

Where were the English Puritans? Many reformers, especially those at Cambridge, had absorbed the new Protestant thinking while in exile in Holland and Switzerland. They watched patiently as Queen Elizabeth re-established her father's church in 1563, together with the Prayer Book and its Thirty-nine Articles. They hoped for a major housecleaning among the Anglican clergy and they wanted to exclude from the Church all unrepentant sinners. Elizabeth tolerated their dissent, even after Thomas Cartwright, in 1570, was expelled from Cambridge because he had urged that ministers be chosen by the people rather than by bishops. Those who advocated drastic reform included Chaderton, Hildersam, Dod, Sibbes, and later the Goodwins, John Cotton, John Davenport, Roger Williams and Thomas Hooker. Then there were Robert Browne, John Robinson and John Smyth who were called Separatists because they refused to work within the system. They, too, were Puritans.

What, then, was the Puritan message?

A. First, it followed the tradition of Wycliffe, incorporated much of the doctrine of Calvin, and applauded Luther in espousing a national church, independent of Rome.

B. It sought a return to the primitive apostolic church stripped of all ceremony, all sacraments except baptism and communion, all heirarchy, property, and doctrine not supported by Scripture. Special emphasis was placed on the Pentateuch, the epistles of Paul, and the writings of St. Augustine.

C. It affirmed the doctrine of predestination found in the 8th chapter, 29th verse of Paul's Letter to the Romans, in which God has called only a certain privileged few for salvation. These may come from any class in society, and in this respect it was democratic.

D. Only God's grace can save men, and only by faith can man reach salvation. Luther's justification by faith was not enough; one must go through an experience of conversion after inner spiritual development, yet no one knows whom God will finally choose.

E. It was a new outlook on life; a continuous battle against sin. The process is, in effect, a pilgrimage, often lasting all through life, and comparing closely with the struggle of the Israelites against bondage in order to reach the promised land.

In the late 16th and throughout the 17th centuries there was a flood of Puritan literature on how God converts the sinful soul into a state of grace. One of the most important writers was William Perkins who died in 1602, but who influenced many emigrants to America. The authors were preachers who had been born again into the new life and who were quite sure they were numbered among God's elect.

Now public discussion took the place of the Roman confessional. A new candidate had to make a full and open repentance. Only by self-discipline and by strict adherance to the Puritan Code could the process of salvation begin. To some it might never come. The lives of many of these "visible saints," as they were called, were often written up after death and became what some call a hagiology of Puritanism.

Our own concern with this begins soon after the accession of James Stuart to the throne in 1603. To reinforce the monarchy, the Tudors had wanted a uniform, national church. The Stuarts, with Catholic roots, sought only to maintain the divine authority of a united church and crown. The Church of England, still hierarchical, had humanistic and even tolerant thoughts, but preaching was secondary to ritual and dogma. With the elevation of Laud to archibishop, a crackdown on heresy began, and while the non-Separatist clergy were in some cases allowed to preach, the Separatists were persecuted. Robinson and Brewster, both Cambridge men, who lived at Scrooby, and John Smyth at Gainsborough, two nearby communities, took their people to Holland in 1607-8. They had been influenced by Browne, but it is not fair to call them Brownists. Though Puritans, the Separatists wanted a voluntary and covenanted church with strict discipline and power to expel the wicked. Members must appear godly and would be asked to make a public confession of their belief. As Congregationalists they wanted each parish to support itself. It is interesting that the Massachusetts Bay people, who were originally non-Separatists, eventually decided on the same system.

The Pilgrim group was less concerned with "saving faith," since only God could really tell who had it, whereas the Bay people insisted that their visible saints go through a long process of conversion which their leaders could monitor.

By 1617 the Leyden group, which was only a small part of the five hundred English emigrants in Holland, had decided on emigration. What were the reasons?

First, religious. The Smyth group had drifted off towards Baptism, others towards Arminianism. This latter was a humanist philosphy which leaned in the direction of the fifth

century Pelagian heresy of free will. Robinson opposed free will and universal grace, and felt these ideas were corrupting his doctrine.

Second, the factor that motivated both the Pilgrims and the Bay Colony ten years later was the severe poverty of their members. This had been brought about by depression in the English cloth trade, and the lack of career opportunities in both England and Holland. Above all there was the desire for land that could not be had in England but was abundant in America.

Third, visions of Utopia, grown strong after the publication of Sir Thomas More's famous work of 1516 with its emphasis on community ownership, the sacrifice of individual interest for the common good, the virtue of hard work, and the promise of universal education.

Fourth, a conviction that they were a chosen people, called by the Almighty to found a new Israel.

In practice there was little difference in doctrine between the Bay and Plymouth colonies. The Pilgrims are distinguished by the following:

1. A more distinct separation of church and state.
2. A more tolerant behavior, especially on such subjects as Indian relations and the practice of witchcraft.
3. A mild criminal code. There were only five capital offenses in Plymouth as against 149 in the United Kingdom.
4. Plymouth was the first to institute the public recording of deeds, mortgages and wills, and the registration by towns of births, marriages and deaths.
5. Elimination of primogeniture and the introduction of the Dutch system of equity.
6. Universal male suffrage. All men voted, not just church members.
7. Thanksgiving Day.

When we talk about the Puritans we are apt to think of the Bay Colony because there is an abundance of literature about it. Their venture in the new world was characterized by the following, but most of these apply equally well to Plymouth:

1. Each person should live a full Christian life in the world.
2. They did not subscribe to withdrawal or monastic life.
3. They had contempt for the "vulgar prophets," including the Quakers who, they felt, wanted God's grace on easy terms and often claimed to find it in ecstasies and shaking fits. People like these were expelled from Massachusetts.

In the late 18th and throughout the 19th centuries there
a flood of fraudulent inventions, as new and concerning the
lion a state of trance. One of the most important writers
Phineas Parkhurst Quimby, in 1861, but was influenced
earlier in America. The authors were practicing with
been again into the mind and were quite
were preferred among Godly souls.

Was public discussion been the place of the Roman Catholics
al. A new sensibility had to come a full and open
Only by self-discipline and by strict adherence to the
Code could the process of salvation begin. In some it
never came. The lives of many of these "visible saints,"
they were called, were often written up after death and
what were all a biography of Puritanism.

Our can compare with this begins soon after the accession
James Stuart to the throne in 1603. To complete the
the Puritans had wanted a uniform national church. The
ers, with extreme pain, sought only to maintain the
authority of a united church and crown. The Church of
land, still hierarchical, had ceremonies and even
thoughts, but preaching was secondary to ritual and
with the development land to prohibition, a
way began, and while the non-separatist clergy were
press allowed to preach, the Separatists were
Robinson and Brewster, both Cambridge men, who
Scrooby, and John Smyth of Gainsborough, has nearly
ties, took their people to Holland in 1607-8. They had
influenced by Brownes, but it is not fair to call them
Young Puritans. The Separatists wanted a voluntary and
church with strict discipline and power in
elected. Members had appear godly and would be
make a public confession of their belief. As Congregationalists
they wanted such people to support their. It is interesting
the Congregationalists, too, were strongly
date eventually developed on the same system.

The Pilgrim group was less concerned with "saving
since only God could know who had it, whereas the
Puritans insisted that their whole society go through a long
process of conversion which their leaders could
In 1620 the Leyden group, which was only a small
the five hundred Separatists in Holland, had
congregations. Most were the "common

Three, however, the Smyth group had decided all
Pilgrims, either from Amsterdam. This latter was a
mostly philosophy [illegible] the direction of the

c) They rejected currently popular standards of ease and luxury, elegant manners, the theatre, and the worship of man.

d) To them Satan was a reality. Since Adam's fall, every man is born to sin. Satan could only be conquered by abstinence, prayer and a personal religious experience. This meant listening to sermons, Bible reading and meditation in the search for salvation.

e) They were strong believers in the integrity of the family. The father was an Old Testament patriarch, loving but stern.

f) Typical was the motto which Nathaniel Ward carved on his mantel: *sobriety, justice* and *piety*. Later he added *laughter*. Puritans believed in hard work, diligence and thrift. Idleness was a grave sin.

g) Both men and women enjoyed tobacco, beer and rum, especially at harvest festivals, college commencements, funerals and the ordination of ministers. Dancing and card playing were not unknown. Bowling, horse-breeding and racing, and athletic contests were popular and accepted. While virginity was prized, bundling was recommended for youth.

h) They believed in a class system, based on wealth. In 165[illegible] a law was passed to prevent the lower classes from dressing like gentlemen. They liked bright colors, velvets and laces. It was the Quakers who dressed plainly.

i) They had a fascination for education. Harvard was founded in 1636, and grammar schools were mandated in every town. Although medieval in faith, the Puritans were Renaissance men, loving the approved classics and eagerly following the advance of science.

j) Christmas and Easter were downgraded because of their aversion to the pagan features that surrounded these festivities. The Puritans did not wish to be reminded of Christ's suffering on the cross or of the doctrine of his atonement for human sins. To them Christ's greatest moment was his resistance to temptation in the desert, showing his power to defeat Satan forever.

The Puritan system was ideally suited to the frontier. It worked from the start. While the intensity of religious feeling would not last much beyond one generation, the Puritans adapted their church to take in those who had not experienced conversion. The famous half-way covenant, which allowed the next generation to stay on in the church, preserved the Puritan way of life.

Was it a theocracy? The consensus is today that it was not. The civil government always controlled affairs and even decided where to set up new churches. However, the personalities of John Cotton, Thomas Hooker and Theophilous Eaton were so strong that they influenced political decisions in Boston, Hartford and New Haven, respectively. For a while, political rights were given to church members only, and it was the ministers who determined who the visible saints were. This was done by testing a candidate publicly for "saving grace." By 1677 the Reverend Stoddard of Northampton rebelled against this, offered communion to all, and dropped all tests for faith, so that by 1684, when Massachusetts had lost its charter, what was once a religious aristocracy became a self-governing royal colony with a high degree of toleration.

What about the witch stories? Before the age of science, magic was widely believed all over Europe. The miracles ascribed to saints and the veneration of relics attest to this. But the Bible in several places proscribes sorcery and mandates death to witches. Since Satan was believed to be directly responsible, witchcraft and heresy were considered worse sins than murder. A bishop in 1317 was burned at the stake for melting and cursing a wax image of the Pope. Charlemagne executed witches. In a one-hundred fifty year period in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, the Inquistion claimed to have burned 30,000 witches. The hysteria that hit Salem Village in 1689 could have happened anywhere in Europe at that time. As it turned out, nineteen people were hanged and one who refused to plea was pressed to death. Later Judge Sewall apologized. It was a sordid and quite isolated event, but consistent with the superstitutions of the age.

What do we owe to the Puritan experience?

(1) The heritage of self-government which all colonies in New England practiced from the beginning. They adapted a Biblical code to English law and kept alive the dream of liberty held dear since Saxon times. Their covenants provided the spark for constitutional government, and in this respect they were far ahead of any European country.

(2) An effective system of public education. Puritanism was the product of university-trained men who gave the colonies intellectual leadership even before the emigration. The setting up of a printing press in Boston at an early date spread ideas and encouraged freedom of expression.

(3) The Puritan work ethic was born in religious conviction but it developed initiative and self-reliance and advanced

They promoted currently popular standards of taste, luxury, elegant manners, the theatre, and the worth of man.

To cross Saxon was a reality. Jesse Adams felt, as man is born to sin. Satan could only be conquered by abstinence, prayer and a personal religious experience. This meant listening to sermons, Bible reading and meditation in the search for salvation.

They were strong believers in the integrity of the family. The father was an Old Testament patriarch, leading a storm.

Typical was the motto which Hathorne ward carved on a mantel: sobriety, prayer and piety. Late— to sleep, tongues. Furnaces believed in hard work, thrift, idleness was a grave sin.

Both men and women enjoyed labour, work and responsibility as natural functions, unlike degeneracy, luxuries and the existence of rich idlers. Thoughts were not indulgent. Thinking, hoping and dreaming, and similar mental exercises were peculiar and suspected. Strict virginity was proved, humiliating and accusing for truth.

They believed in a class system, based on wealth. In 1[illegible] a law was passed to prevent the poor from wearing fine clothes like gentlemen. They liked bright colors, velvets and satins. It was the Quakers who favored plainness.

They had a reputation for industry. Thoreau was [illegible] in 1[illegible], and Emerson schools were modelled in [illegible]. Although academical in faith, the Puritans [illegible] hard-working men. Having the spur and schedule and [illegible] reflecting the advances of science.

Strictness and Easter were developed [illegible] reverence to the pagan festivals that antagonized [illegible] festivities. The Puritans did not wish to be reminded [illegible] Christmas on the grounds or of the doctrine [illegible] Christmas was looked also. In time Christmas [illegible] Mass replaced the celebration in the [illegible] giving the power to select Easter.

The Puritan system was totally settled in the [illegible] served from the start. With the intensity of religious [illegible] would not last much beyond one generation. The Puritans [illegible] made church to take in those who had not experienced [illegible] tion. The famous half-way covenant, which allowed the [illegible] generation to stay on in the church, preserved the [illegible] of life.

the American frontier until the end of the nineteenth century. The kernel of this tradition is still with us.

(4) The belief that America is a place chosen by God as a new experiment in Christian living. It has given birth to national pride in the integrity of our goals. It was at the root of Manifest Destiny in the nineteenth century and in our present compulsion to spread democracy all over the world. To some, of course, our frequent moral crusades merely represent vanity and intolerance.

(5) In New Jersey we had the unique experience of a closely-controlled Puritan society recreated here after it had already weakened in New England. The New Haven emigration to Newark in 1664 was an attempt to set up a communal system here even stricter than that of Boston in 1630. This, too, lasted only one generation, but the vitality of these settlers had a profound influence on the character of this state, and it was their descendants who organized and sustained the Revolutionary effort here.

In summary, Puritanism was a religious movement of the late sixteenth century that coincided with the seventeenth century expansion of Europe across the Atlantic. It revived in the mid-eighteenth century with such great intensity that it was this new Puritanism that became identified with an unloving and uncompromising character. It was Jonathan Edwards, not Cotton or Hooker, who had the reputation of preaching hell-fire and damnation. In the late Victorian period Puritanism revived again. This time both Britain and America carried the White Man's Burden abroad and focused on alleviating drunkeness and poverty in the new industrial slums. It is my conclusion that we may very well experience still another Puritan revival, as the pendulum inevitably swings away from self-indulgence, hedonism and moral laxity. Let us hope that it does not take a national disaster to call attention to our fall from grace.

Bibliography

Bradford, William, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647,* Samuel E. Morison, ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952).

Boorstin, Daniel J., *The Americans, the Colonial Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1958).

Borman, Pauline C., "Were the Puritans 'Puritanical'?" *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, (May 1978): 435-38, 567.

Durant, Will, *The Reformation, A History of European Civilization from Wycliff to Calvin, 1300-1564*, Part VI, The Story of Civilization Series (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957).

Foerster, Norman, *Image of America, Our Literature from Puritanism to the Space Age* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962).

Hall, David D., ed., *Puritanism in Seventeenth Century Massachusetts* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968).

Haller, William, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1938).

Kocher, Helen J., "Sidelights on the Puritans and Pilgrims," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* (May 1979): 489-93.

Morgan, Edmund S., *Visible Saints, the History of a Puritan Idea* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1963).

Simpson, Alan, *Puritanism in Old and New England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

Stoddard, Francis R., *The Truth About the Pilgrims* (New York: The Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of New York, 1952).

Vaughan, Alden T., ed., *The Puritan Tradition in America, 1621-1730* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1972).

Watkins, Owen C., *The Puritan Experience, Studies in Spiritual Autobiography* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972).

Ralph H. Cutler, Jr., a member of the Board of Assistants of the New Jersey Society, is a descendant of Pilgrim William White through his son, Resolved. Mr. Cutler earned graduate degrees from Harvard and Fairleigh Dickinson University, and is presently Historian of Harding Township, New Jersey. He has served as president of the Washington Association of New Jersey and of the Morris County Historical Society. He was co-editor of Morristown and Morris Township, A Guide to Historic Sites, *published in 1976. His address is Fossil Hill Farm, Red Gate Road, Morristown, NJ 07960.*

HISTORIAN GENERAL BARBARA LAMBERT MERRICK OF MASSACHUSETTS (1983-1987)

Barbara Lambert Merrick

Barbara Lambert Merrick, a Life Member of the Massachusetts Society, is descended from *Mayflower* passengers John Alden, Governor William Bradford, Elder William Brewster, Edward Doty, Stephen Hopkins, and Richard Warren. Her parents were Clifton and Florence (Mortimer) Lambert, long-time residents of Pembroke, Mass., where Barbara and her husband, Clayton M. Merrick, Jr., have lived for many years. They are the parents of two sons and have one granddaughter.

Before being appointed Historian General in 1983, Barbara had served the Massachusetts Society for five years as State Historian. An experienced genealogist, she is Prime Researcher for *Mayflower Families Four - The William Brewster Family*, which is now being readied for publication. Her long list of published articles include "The Original Church Records of Gad Hitchcock, D.D., 1748 to 1803: Deaths," [*The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, (Jan. 1982) 136:31]; "Sarah (Brewster) Bartlett," [*Mayflower Quarterly* (Aug. 1985) 51:131]; "Mary Brewster, Wife of William Kempton," [*MQ* (May 1985) 51:74]; "Josiah and Desire (Hawes) Hatch, A Howland-Doty Line," (co-author, *MQ* (Feb. 1985) 51:15; "Some Descendants of Francis Cooke, Mayflower Passenger" [*MQ* (Aug. 1983) 49:130]; "The Secret Life of Jonathan Sampson," [*MQ* (Nov. 1982) 48:172]; "Which Josiah Washburn Married Sarah Richmond?" [*MQ* (Feb. 1982) 48:12]; "William Sturtevant, Descendant of Samuel Fuller," [*MQ* (Nov. 1980) 46:183]; and "Who was Jemima Hill, Descendant of Richard Warren?" [*MQ* (Nov. 1979) 45:203].

The Society is fortunate to have the services of such a talented and knowledgeable Historian General. [Also see *The Mayflower Quarterly* (November 1983) 49:160.]

JONATHAN BREWSTER IN LEIDEN DOCUMENTS

by Jeremy D. Bangs

Part I

Jonathan Brewster, eldest son of William Brewster and Mary (whose maiden name is unknown),[1] was born on August 12, 1593, and arrived in Leiden in the spring of 1609, accompanying his parents. While they emigrated to New England in 1620, Jonathan remained in Leiden for a year, arriving in Plymouth on the *Fortune*, November 11, 1621. He married Lucretia Oldham in Plymouth in 1624, and was a Purchaser in 1626. He subsequently removed to Duxbury and became the holder of trading posts at places on the Connecticut River and subsequently on the Thames River in Connecticut. In later life he was a deputy to the Connecticut General Court. An interest in alchemy, expressed in his letters to John Winthrop, makes him more significant to the history of ideas in the Pilgrim colony than he would be if his intellectual concerns had remained unknown.[2] Jonathan Brewster was, furthermore, the author of a family register called "The Brewster Book," (which I have not seen), recording such family events, - marriages and so forth, - as ordinarily are to be found in such books.[3] Jonathan Brewster died in 1659. In this article I shall discuss the Leiden documents in which Jonathan Brewster appears, particularly with a view to clarifying some confusion that has existed about an inaccurately assumed first marriage in Leiden, and a child supposed to have been his from that marriage.[4] In addition, the two last wills of Thomas Brewer, to one of which Jonathan Brewster was a witness, will occupy our attention.

At Home with his Parents

Jonathan was a witness giving testimony in an affidavit given by his parents and by him, and by "Willem Britsman" (William Bridgeman) for Bernard Ross (or Rose), on June 25, 1609.[5]

At the request of "Bernaert Rosse," Englishman living in Amsterdam, William Brewster, aged around 42, his wife Mary ("Marytgen Bruster"), aged around 40, and Jonathan Brewster, their son, aged about sixteen, having been summoned by a court messenger, appeared before two Leiden magistrates and made a sworn statement. Ross, they said, had brought a package

Barbara Lamport Brewster

containing various English cloths to their house in the "stinck-steech."[6] The package contained five pieces of cloth, according to both William and Jonathan, who saw them. (Mary had not been present when the package was opened, so she could not swear to the number of pieces of cloth.) Further, Jonathan alone declared that Willem Aerntsz., the son of the collector of the duties on wool cloth, came to his aforementioned house when Ross was there, and that Ross had opened the package in Willem Aerntsz.'s presence and had shown him all five pieces. Willem Aerntsz. had put a lead seal on one of the pieces. Furthermore, William Brewster alone declared that he had not been present at the declaration or showing of the pieces to the tax farmer, but that he had learned from Ross, and from his son Jonathan, that the tax farmer's son had been to his house. Afterwards he had seen that Ross had torn one of the five pieces, because it had become damp at one end from sea water. In addition, William Bridgeman, aged about 26, appeared before the magistrates and made a sworn statement at the request of Ross.[7] He declared that, at the last Leiden fair, he had bought from Ross, at the Hogewoerts Bridge (which was at the south end of the Breestraat, part of the market area), 1½ ells and half a quarter-piece of black-grey English wool cloth. Bernard had shorn this from an English piece whose weft was mixed green on one end and black-grey on the other. Because Bridgeman was on his way to work and did not have any money with him to pay for the cloth, he left the cloth he had bought with Ross, and the next day, when he was intending to pay for it and pick it up, Ross told him that the tax farmer had confiscated all his cloths.

Becoming a Leiden Burgher

Jonathan disappears from the records for a while, which is in no way surprising, as most young men his age, who were living at home, were not in any circumstances that required listing. An exception would be population lists made for tax purposes, but between 1606 and 1622, no such lists were compiled in Leiden. Jonathan was about 24 years old when he next comes to our attention, for, on June 30, 1617, he became a burgher of Leiden.[8] His guarantors were Isaack de Syde and Jan Sebastiaensz. van Hout (not the city secretary Jan van Hout, who died in 1609, not long after he had seen to it that the Pilgrims could come to Leiden unimpeded by the English attempts at extradition).[9] The register of new burghers lists Jonathan as "Jonathan Willemsz. Bruster uut het Noortquartier in Engelant Lintwercker." "Lintwercker" means ribbon maker. The "North

Quarter in England" is a reasonable description, although rather vague, for the area where Scrooby, the Brewsters' home town, is located. Becoming a burgher gave Jonathan certain privileges such as eligibility for guild membership and preferred treatment in Leiden courts in cases concerning business deals; and it brought with it some obligations, chief of which was service, when called on, in the nightwatch and the militia, with required practice in shooting on a regular basis. This practice took place on the shooting ranges of the militia, the "Doelen Terrein" where recently the University of Leiden has constructed a number of buildings, including that of the Faculty of Letters.

The full form of Jonathan's name, used in the register of new burghers, permits a few words to be said about Dutch name forms in records of this period.[10] The given name is first, - *Jonathan*. The father's name can come second (or alternately, last), with the suffix "z." or "zn.", meaning "son" (*zoon*), - *Willemsz*. (In this document, like most Dutch documents, the English name *William*, is given in its Dutch equivalent, *Willem*.) The father's name, with the suffix for "son," is the patronymic. Finally, if the family was already using a surname (which many Dutch families, at this time, were not), it *might* be listed, although it could just as easily be omitted. In this case, the surname *is* given, albeit in a Dutch phonetic spelling, - *Bruster*. It was quite common to omit the surname; given name and patronymic were sufficient, especially when the clerk knew the person whose name he registered, or when the clerk considered it unlikely that the person named on the document would have to be found again, using only the information on the document. (In other words, if the clerk saw no reason to specify which "Jan Jansz." was meant, the clerk could omit identifying terms, like surname, address, age, or occupation.)

In the Pilgrim period, no patronymic was used as a surname in The Netherlands, although the beginnings of the practice can be discerned in the occasional use of a father's given name, with his patronymic following the given name of the person in question, *e.g.*, the son of Jan Jansz., named Pieter, might be listed as Pieter Jan Jansz.sz., (doubling the abbreviation for "son" indicates the grandfather's name is shown). Putting it another way, no such *surname*, as *e.g.* Johnson or Williamson, existed in Leiden records; each instance of such a name is a personal patronymic, indicating that the person's father's given name was, *e.g.*, John or William. Accordingly, the suffix on a patronymic for a woman was not "z." or "zn.", but "dr." for "daughter" (*dochter*); and we see forms like *Jansdr.* and *Willemsdr.* for "John's daughter" and "William's daughter."[11]

It is true that nowadays there are many patronymic forms that are used as surnames in The Netherlands, which means that some men and women have the names "Janssen" or "Willemsen" or "Jans" or "Willems." This shift occurred in the early nineteenth century, when The Netherlands, under Napoleonic rule, undertook various changes, including the introduction of constant population registration. The descendants of people who, at that time, gave their names in patronymic form, now have surnames in the form of patronymics (but of course, these names now indicate a distant ancestor, not the immediate father), because, from then on, Dutch civil officials have identified people legally according to what the officials could read in their own written records, which assigned permanent surnames and declared them valid and binding, from that moment on.

Witness at Betrothals

How the name system worked in practice can be seen in the betrothal record for the printer, John Reynolds, dated July 28, 1617. The text states:[12]

Jan Reynouts, printer, bachelor, from London in England,
accompanied by
Jonatham Willemsz. his acquaintance
with
Prudens Grindon, spinster, also from London in England,
accompanied by
Marye Bryster and Mary Allerton, her acquaintances.

[A marginal note says:] "Dwells in the house of Willem Pauwelsz. in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg."

The names in current English orthography would be: John Reynolds, Jonathan Williamson (Brewster), Prudence Grindon, Mary Brewster, and Mary Allerton. The Willem Pauwelsz., in whose house Reynolds lived, has been shown by D. Plooij to have been Willem Pouwelsz. van Thorenvliet.[13] His was a family so well-known that the surname did not have to be listed, besides which he was further identified as the one of that name (Willem Pouwelsz.) who owned a house in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg. The father of this Willem was Pouwels Pouwels Willemsz.sz. van Thorenvliet. His grandfather had been Deputy Sheriff of Leiden during the 1560s and had secretly helped imprisoned Protestants to escape.[14] The van Thorenvliets were thus no strangers to helping people oppressed for reasons of religious conviction. The other instance, in this betrothal

document, of the use of given name and patronymic, without the surname, is, of course, the witness, Jonatham Willemsz., whom we know to be Jonathan, son of William Brewster.

How do we know that this "Jonatham Willemsz." was, in fact, Jonathan Brewster? The answer is that, from the system of names, we already know that "Jonatham Willemsz." is a sufficient identification for Jonathan Brewster at this time in Leiden; and we know that Dutch officials, a month earlier, had identified Jonathan by listing his given name, patronymic, and surname, which shows that Jonathan himself, when asked, understood to give his patronymic as part of his name. This shows that "Jonatham Willemsz." *could* be Jonathan Brewster. Adding to that the extreme rarity of the given name, "Jonathan," in Leiden at this time (I return to this point below), and the fact that John Reynolds's address was the house in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg owned by Willem Pouwelsz. van Thorenvliet, which was, in fact, the residence of William Brewster and his family, we have enough evidence to conclude that the "Jonatham Willemsz." who was a witness to the betrothal of John Reynolds, was Jonathan Brewster.

Two more points may be raised. Jonathan Brewster, as we shall see, knew Dutch well enough to act as an interpreter for Reynolds, which would have been a necessary convenience at the betrothal. Moreover, given the fact that one of the future bride's witnesses was Mary Brewster, Jonathan's mother, we could expect the registrar to give some further identification of this Jonathan, if he had *not* been Jonathan Brewster, if merely to ensure that confusion could be avoided later, if the witnesses ever had to be called to confirm that the betrothal had taken place. That the registrar gave no indications that this might not be Jonathan Brewster, allows us, on this point, also, to conclude that "Jonatham Willemsz." certainly was Jonathan Williamson Brewster.

"Jonatham Willemsz." [Brewster] was again the witness to a betrothal of a printer, on April 27, 1618, when Edward Winslow became engaged to Elizabeth Barker.[15] In this record, the names are given as Eduwaert Winsloo, Jonatham Willemsz., Ysaack Alanton, Elizabeth Berkar, Janneken Hezel [or Phesel], and Maria Allerton, which we now render as Edward Winslow, Jonathan Williamson [Brewster], Isaac Allerton, Elisabeth Barker, Janie Hazel [or Fitzer?] and Mary Allerton.

(To be continued)

REFERENCES

1. Two names are currently hypothesized as potentially the maiden name of Mary Brewster. These names are Wentworth, suggested by W. H. Burgess in his John

Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers (London & New York, 1920), 81, and Wyrall, announced by J. G. Hunt, in his privately published pamphlet, Of Mary Brewster, The Identity of Mary, Wife of Elder William Brewster of the Mayflower Voyage of 1620 from Plymouth, England, to New Plymouth, New England (1984). Hunt's argument is based on two important unproved suppositions: (1) that the names of "Love" and "Wrestling" for Brewster's children refer to the place-name, "Loversall"; and (2) that the name, "Butho," must be the same as "Brewster." AD 1: The author does not consider the patterns of Puritan name-giving, where "Love" is of the same sort as "Faith," "Hope," and "Charity" (which is "Love"); and where "Wrestling" is not a pun, but rather a reference to Genesis 32:24-28. AD 2: It is Hunt's supposition only that "Butho" equals "Brewster," and it is not documented that there was anyone in this case lisping, or inaccurately transcribing, this part of the will of the relative of "Butho." The succinct statement of Burgess (loc. cit.) deserves repeating: "The maiden name of Mary Brewster has not been handed down." Burgess goes on to say, "I suggest Mary Wentworth of Scrooby." That both William Brewster and Mary Brewster appear in Leiden betrothal records, as I report in my article, "Mayflower Passengers Documented in Leiden: A List," [Mayflower Quarterly (1985) 51:57-60], does not mean that they appear in Leiden in any record of their own betrothal. They appear, instead, as witnesses to the betrothals of other people. People already married do not appear as becoming betrothed after their arrival in Leiden. This issue has, nevertheless, confused several readers of that article, who evidently would like to have proof that Mary Brewster was born "Mary Wentworth." There is no evidence known at this moment, in Leiden, that answers the question of what the maiden name of Mary Brewster was.

2. I am grateful to Ms. Carolyn Freeman Travers of Plimoth Plantation for calling my attention to this issue, and for sending me copies of the relevant letters by Jonathan Brewster to John Winthrop: "Letters, &c., of Jonathan Brewster," Massachusetts Historical Collections, 4th Series, VII:66-87.

3. I have been informed of this book by Mrs. Henry G. R. White and Mrs. Clayton M. Merrick, Jr. [See Mayflower Descendant 1:1-8, 71-77]. A typical example in the Leiden Municipal Archives, of such a family book, is the one of the cartographer-surveyor, Jan Pietersz. Dou, which covers events in the time of the Pilgrims. Dou, however, was a supporter of the Remonstrants (Arminians) and was not in contact with such English opponents of Arminianism as the Pilgrims. His notes contain valuable observations from the opposite camp on the theological issues of the time, and their devisive effects within the Reformed churches. [See Bibliotheek Leiden en Omstreken, 7000 - 1 - Jan Pietersz. Dou.]

4. The inaccurate supposition of this marriage, and a child from it, first appears in M. Dexter, "Jonathan Brewster's First Wife and Child," The Mayflower Descendant (1904) 6:57-58.

5. Rechterlijk Archief 79, K, fol. 26-27.

6. A "stinksteeg" was an unnamed alley used for access to a few houses, and for carrying out the slops from them. On the location of this one, see D. Plooij's contribution to R. Harris and S. K. Jones, The Pilgrim Press, A Bibliographical & Historical Memorial of the Books Printed at Leyden by the Pilgrim

Fathers (Cambridge, 1922). A revision of this book is presently in preparation, by Drs. R. Breugelmans of the Leiden University Library; this revision will contain a paragraph by me bringing Plooij's archival references up to date. The alley where the Brewsters lived is now named "William Brewstersteeg."

7. William Bridgeman is the only Pilgrim whose Leiden possessions are listed in a preserved inventory: Rechterlijk Archief 84, G, fol. 64, May 29, 1619.

8. Secretarie Archief II, 1069, Poorterboek F (1603-1618), fol. 106.

9. The given name is omitted from (Jan) Sebastiansz. van Hout, in the reference to this document, in H. M. Dexter and M. Dexter, The England and Holland of the Pilgrims (Boston and New York, 1905), 606.

10. Competent explanations have been given before, but the problem continually arises as new people become interested in the issues involved, so that a new explanation, albeit repetitious, of long published material, is perennially necessary. For an adequate explanation, see the Preface of the book, Leyden Documents relating to the Pilgrim Fathers, D. Plooij and J. Rendel Harris, eds., (Leiden, 1920).

11. A thorough explanation of this, with genealogical charts of scores of mutually related people in Leiden in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, is found in the genealogical appendix of my book, Cornelis Engebrechtsz.'s Leiden, Studies in Cultural History (Assen, 1979).

12. The document is photographically reproduced, transcribed, and translated in the book, Leyden Documents (see note 10 above), on page XXXII. There is a slight transcription error, however, in that "Jonatham" is given as "Jonathan" although the original has an "m"; and "Bryster" is given as "Bruyster" although the original has no "u".

13. See his contribution to Harris and Jones, The Pilgrim Press [see note 6 above]. One of the genealogical charts in my Cornelius Engebrechtsz.'s Leiden is of the family van Thorenvliet.

14. On Pouwels Willemsz. van Thorenvliet, see my Documentary Studies in Leiden Art and Crafts, 1475-1575 (Leiden, 1976), 161, 166-168.

15. The document is photographically reproduced, transcribed, and translated in the book, Leyden Documents (see note 10 above), on page XXXV. Again, the transcription erroneously gives "Jonathan" instead of the original's "Jonatham."

(To be continued)

Dr. Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs, Curator, Leiden Pilgrim Documents Center, Leiden, has been associated with the Pilgrim Documents Center since 1980 and has published many books and pamphlets about the Pilgrims in Leiden, and about the history of art and decorative arts in Leiden. Several of his publications are available at Pilgrim Hall and Plimoth Plantation in Plymouth, Mass. From January to May, 1986, Dr. Bangs will be Visiting Distinguished Professor of Art History at the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. Starting in June 1986, he will be Chief Curator of Plimoth Plantation.

A MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

In 1947 the Mayflower House Endowment Fund was established from which the income was to be used to support the maintenance and operation of the Mayflower House, Gardens and Library building. The income is now not quite adequate to meet the needs, due to increased prices. Members, friends and State Societies are asked to contribute to the Endowment Fund so that the income will be sufficient to provide the support that the House deserves, independent of the General Fund. We are all proud of our headquarters for it is the one visible symbol of our Society.

The General Board of Assistants at St. Paul last September approved an appeal for contributions to the Mayflower House Endowment Fund. Some contributions have been received, and they are greatly appreciated. Gifts and bequests, large and small, together will help to have the Mayflower House Museum self-supporting and independent of the General Fund. When considering your charitable tax deductible contributions, I hope you will keep the needs of the Mayflower House Endowment Fund in mind. Of course, we will be delighted to receive gifts (and matching gifts) for any purpose which you may prefer.

William Nash Davis, Governor General

.....

FORM OF BEQUEST

I give or bequeath to the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, a Corporation of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the sum of:

_____

for a) The Mayflower House Endowment Fund .....
b) Other specific Fund or purpose .....

[Gifts to the General Society of Mayflower Descendants are tax deductible under Section 501 (C) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code.]

Name _____

Address _____

Checks may be made payable to The General Society of Mayflower Descendants *and sent to* Lt. Col. Kendrick Holle, USA Ret., Treasurer General, 1600 S. Eads St., Apt. 1024 S., Arlington, VA 22202. *These gifts are greatly appreciated.*

JONATHAN BREWSTER IN LEIDEN DOCUMENTS

by Jeremy D. Bangs

[Continued from 52:14]

Part III

Not Jonathan Brewster's First Wife and Child

The foregoing are the only known references to Jonathan Brewster in the Leiden documents as far as is presently known (September 1985). What, then, are we to make of Morton Dexter's information in his article in *The Mayflower Descendant* of 1904, "Jonathan Brewster's First Wife and Child"?[33] Dexter tells us that a Leiden reference to the burial on November 27, 1610, of "a child of Jonathan (living on) Church street," must be a reference to a child of Jonathan Brewster. A second burial, that of "the wife of John, son of William, (living) on the Pieter's Church Street," must be, he says, the burial of Jonathan Brewster's wife, the mother of the child buried in 1610. One should not lightly disagree with the Dexters, whose painstaking research in the Leiden archives is legendary; in this case, however, I believe there is reason for disagreement.

I must admit that I do not know who "Jonathan" on the Pieterskerkgracht in 1610 was; but at least I know where the Pieterskerkgracht itself is. "Gracht" (or, formerly, "graft") means canal; the Pieterskerkgracht is a canal, now filled in as a street, that runs approximately north-south to the north of the Pieterskerkstraat, which is one block long at the north side of the choir of the Pieterskerk. Going north from the choir of the church, one leaves the Pieterskerkhof and passes through the Pieterskerkstraat before reaching the Pieterskerkgracht.

Moreover, I also know where the Pieterskerkhof is. A "kerkhof" is a churchyard; the Pieterskerkhof is the churchyard all around the Pieterskerk. Any house facing any side of that church is a house on the Pieterskerkhof. True enough, the houses along the south side have an official address on the Kloksteeg, which is the name of the alley (really a street) that runs along the south side of the churchyard from the Nieuwe Steeg to the Nonnenbrug, passing the site of the now demolished bell tower of the Pieterskerk. ("Klok" means bell, hence the name of the "Kloksteeg" or Bell Alley). Nonetheless, houses

A MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

In 1947 the Mayflower House Endowment Fund was established upon which the income was to be used to support the museums and exhibitions of the Mayflower Plants, Gardens and Library Buildings. This income is now not quite adequate to meet the needs, due to increased prices. Students, Clubs and Societies are asked to contribute to the Endowment Fund so the income will be sufficient to provide the amenity that these deserves, independent of the Annual Fund. We are a mecca of the Mayflower for it is the area yielded wealth of a colony.

The General Board of Assistants at St. Paul last September approved an appeal for contributions to the Mayflower House Endowment Fund. Some contributions have been received, but they are greatly appreciated. Gifts and bequests, large or small, together will help to have the Mayflower House Plants self-supporting and independent of the General Fund. Thus contributing your charitable tax deductible contributions, I hope you will keep the needs of the Mayflower House Endowment Fund in mind. Of course, we will be delighted to receive gifts (including wills) for any purpose which you may prefer.

William Neal Davis, Governor General

FORM OF BEQUEST

I give do bequeath to the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, a Corporation of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts the sum of:

For: A The Mayflower House Endowment Fund

B) Other purposes (name of charity)

Write to the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 101 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass. 02108 for the complete text of the bequest or at the Museum of Mayflower Plants.

Name

Address

Checks may be made payable to The General Society of Mayflower Descendants and sent to Col. Kenneth A.R. Kennedy, Executive Director, 101 S. Fine St., Apt. 1034 S., Arlington, VA 22202. These gifts are greatly appreciated.

A PILGRIMAGE TO PILGRIM COUNTRIES

by Marion Vuilleumier

Most people think of the Pilgrims in connection with Plymouth, Massachusetts, but for about two dozen Mayflower descendants, in September 1985, Pilgrim country meant England and the Netherlands, where the Pilgrim saga really began. Accompanied by relatives and other history buffs, the party of thirty-eight jetted across the Atlantic in mounting excitement on September 3rd, for the two week trip to the historic sites and scenes. Cameras, tape-recorders and notebooks were ready to record where, twelve or so generations ago, their ancestors lived, worked and worshipped.

Though many other historic places were seen and appreciated, clearly the Pilgrim places were the highlights of the tour, beginning with the dock district of London. On a walking tour, the modern Pilgrims visited the site of the first separatist church, in the 1590s, the Mayflower Tavern behind which the *Mayflower* was provisioned, and St. Mary's Church, where its captain, Christopher Jones, was buried. A special delight was Veronica Alden of Southwark, who met the group for a stroll. Her husband is descended from Robert Alden, either a brother or nephew of the *Mayflower* passenger, John Alden.

Another highlight was the day the party drove through lush green fields bordered by hedgerows, to Southampton where the *Mayflower* met the *Speedwell* and began the first leg of their 1620 voyage. An impressive stone shaft, with a miniature replica of the *Mayflower*, was the background for many photos. After a visit to Dartmouth, second stop of the two original ships after it was found that the *Speedwell* leaked, the bus took the present day Pilgrims to Plymouth where their ancestors had made the decision to leave the *Speedwell* behind, and where 102 earlier Pilgrims had embarked for the New World. A canopied memorial on the Barbican commemorates the historic event, while across the street, on Island House, there is a list of the male Pilgrims, their towns and occupations.

After driving through or near several Mayflower passengers' villages, including the Wooton-under-Edge of Stephen Hopkins, Wrington of the Carpenter sisters, Ekington of George Soule, and Droitwich of Edward Winslow, the party arrived in Lincoln, headquarters for the trips to several Pilgrim villages, including Scrooby, where the Pilgrim movement officially began.

[Photo by Marion Vuilleumier.]

Bradford Manor in Austerfield, with John Pogue, a Bradford descendant, in the foreground and Dr. Malcolm Dolby and owner Susannah Williams standing in the doorway.

Dr. Malcolm Dolby, head of the Scrooby Parish Council, had taken the day off to be our official guide. First stop was Babworth Church where Richard Clifton held Separatist services. Since this was a Church of England parish, he soon "lost his living." Here the current minister, the Reverend Jeffrey Halliday, showed an authentic goblet used in Pilgrim times, and pointed out the footpath across the fields used by those early worshippers. Then it was off to Scrooby to see St. Wilfred's Church where the Brewster family worshipped, and the remaining ell of the Manor House, still in existence, where the Pilgrim church was "gathered" in 1606.

In the afternoon the group visited Austerfield, home of the Bradfords. The Manor House of the family is still a well-preserved dwelling and the owner, Susannah Williams, graciously opened it for viewing. Then the party walked a few steps to St. Helena Church to view the baptismal font where William Bradford was christened as an infant.

Photo by Boris Ballantyne.

National Manor in Aldenfield, now Inn House, a Grafton restaurant, in the foreground and the Atlantic Derby and Country Bulldogs standing in the doorway.

Dr. Malcolm Dolby, head of the Greenby Parish Council, had taken the day off to be our official guide. First stop was Dalmouth Church where Richard Clifton held Sacramental services. Since this was a Church of England parish, he soon "had his hands full." Mary the current minister, the Reverend Jeffrey Hallidaye, showed an antiquarian pamphlet used in Pilgrim times, and pointed out the restraints across the fields used by them early settlers. Then it was off to Greenby to see St. Wilfred's Church where the Brewster family worshipped, and the reconstructed of the Manor House, still in existence, where the Pilgrim church was "gathered" in 1606.

In the afternoon the group visited Aldenfield, home of the Dandridge. The Manor House of the family is still a magnificent dwelling and the owner, Susanna Wilkins, graciously opened it for viewing. When the party walked a few miles to St. Helena Church to view the baptismal font where William Bradford was christened as an infant.

A PILGRIMAGE TO PILGRIM COUNTRIES

By Marvin Tuttlemeier

Most people think of the Pilgrims in connection with Plymouth, Massachusetts, but for about two dozen Mayflower descendants, in September 1968, Pilgrim country meant England and the Netherlands, where the Pilgrim saga really began. Accompanied by relatives and other history buffs, the party of thirty-eight sailed across the Atlantic in mounting exclusivent on September 3rd, for the two week trip to the historic sites and areas. Canterbury, Cape Cavendre and Amsterdam were ready to accept where, twelve or so generations ago, their ancestors lived, worked and worshipped.

Though many other historic places were seen and experienced, nearly the Pilgrim places were the highlights of the tour, beginning with the dock district of London. On a walking tour, the modern Pilgrims visited the site of the first separatist church, in the 1580s, the Mayflower Tavern behind which the Mayflower was provisioned, and St. Mary's Church, where its captain, Christopher Jones, was buried. A special delight was Veronica Alen of Southwark, who met the group for a stroll. Her mistress is descended from Robert Allen, either a brother or nephew of the Mayflower passenger, John Alden.

Another highlight was the day the party drove through lush green fields bordered by hedgerows, to Southampton where the Mayflower met the Speedwell and began the first leg of the 1620 voyage. An impressive stone shaft, with a miniature replica of the Mayflower, was the background for many photos. After a visit to Dartmouth, second stop of the two original ships after it was found that the Speedwell leaked, the tour took the present day Pilgrims to Plymouth where their ancestors had made the decision to leave the Old World behind, and where 101 earlier Pilgrims had embarked for the New World. A memorial memorials on the Hoe, on Barbican commemorates the Mayflower voyage, while across the street, on Island House, there is a list of the male Pilgrims, their towns and occupations.

After delivery through an near several Mayflower descendants village, including the Reverend Ralph of Stephen Tompkins Harlington of the Greenway Elizabeth Harlington of George Soule and Dorchester of Edward Winslow, the party arrived in Lincoln headquarters for the tour to several Pilgrim villages, including Boston, where the Pilgrim movement officially began.

THE PILGRIMS BEGINNINGS IN THE OLD WORLD

by the Reverend Robert Orr Baker

It is impossible to do justice to the earlier residents of New England without giving some conception of the England out of which they came.

The New Plymouth of 1620 must find much of its interpretation in that life. Sadly, yet with great hope, the Mayflower was leaving behind the hazy hills of Cornwall, as she drew away from them westward on her eventual voyage.

On March 25, 1601, Queen Elizabeth celebrated her sixty-eighth birthday and the forty-third year of her reign. England had a population of four million. One quarter million people lived in London and Westminster. Twenty-five other cities such as York, Bristol, Lincoln and Salisbury were of considerable size. The northern counties were thinly peopled. Many causes had long hindered the growth of the kingdom; the enormous death rate due to wretched unsanitary conditions, the terrible devastation caused by epidemics, the steady waste of life in war and, added to this, the immense poverty throughout the country.

LONDON, FROM THE RIVER.
Early Seventeenth Century.
Engraving by C. J. Visscher.

English statesmen often deprecated and even actively hindered the growth of population. For example, one member of Parliament noted, *We have already too great a store of people in England and that youth by marrying early does nothing for the profit of the country but fill it full of beggars to the hurt and utter undoing of the Commonwealth.* This attitude would prevail in England through the period of the 1790s, when Malthus wrote his Essay on Population. In fact, it was the question of diminishing population that spurred his interest and thus his book.

The English people were divided into four ranks — *gentlemen, citizens, yeomen* and *laborers. Gentlemen* included the King and the Royal Family — the Barons and the Lord, the Archbishops and Bishops, Knights and Esquires. The citizens were the freemen of England living in cities and boroughs, competent to sit in the Lower House of Parliament. This was a numerous class. The *yeomen* class were freeborn men who from their land holdings had an annual income of not less than 150 pounds. The last class was *laborers*, petty merchants having no free land, copyholders, artificers, poor farmers and day laborers and, lower down the scale, the rabble and the criminal, having neither authority or voice in the government.

He who would recall with what imperfect success the nineteenth century has been able to deal with the relations of Church and State to the lower or dangerous classes, should not be surprised that 360 years ago in England, there should have been not only very many in straitened circumstances, but also many others utterly abandoned. There were the normal poor, widows and orphans, the constitutionally feeble, the blind, the palsied, victims of accident, the worn out with age, hardship or excess, the idiotic, and those who had no facility to live but lived only to be cheated, to lose, and to waste. Add to these other multitudes who had brought home from the wars an inveterate reluctance if not an inability for manual labor, households emerging decimated and penniless from terrible tidal waves of epidemic disease, and thousands born in penury. Add also the shameful spawn of the lowest, born under a hedge, seldom roofed except in prison and habitual beggars ever ready to steal. Of the last class who habitually haunted wild lands, it was estimated that there were more than 10,000 in the kingdom.

"TRIPLE EPISCOPACIE."
Satire of the Puritan Party on Laud and the Court Bishops.

In the town of Sheffield, for example, in 1615 there was a population of 2207 souls. Of these, 725 were begging poor, unable to live without charity. There were 100 householders able to do something for the relief of their needy townspeople, yet they, too, were poor working folk, not more than ten of whom had ground of their own and a cow. There were 160 householders who could do nothing for others. More than half the population, 1222, were children or servants of the 260 householders, of whom the greatest part were such as live on small wages and could only provide themselves with the bare necessities.

The condition of things was due partly to waste and woe of civil war, and partly due to the concentration of power in the hands of the king at the cost of comparative independence and vigor of the towns. Some ascribe the development of the poor as a distinct class largely to the beginnings of the growth of commerce and manufacture. The growth of woolen manufacturers raised the value of wool, which was England's largest export. The higher price of wool stimulated the sheep farming on a larger scale. This resulted in consolidation or enclosure, for one sheep-herder could take the place of many men.

It was not until 1601 that an act was passed which provided for the overseers of the poor, the setting to work of all able adults, the relief of the impotent, and the apprenticing of pauper children.

In some things, the average Englishman of 1601 was not much in advance of his ancestors of the fifteenth century. They had but the most general notions of hygiene. They had no understanding of the need for pure water, pure air, and cleanliness. The floors of homes were generally strawed with clay, and that covered with rushes which were now and then renewed; but not so as to disturb the foundation, which sometimes remained for twenty years nursing a collection of spittle, vomit, excrements of dogs and human beings, spilt beer and fish bones, and other filth. One of the famous physicians of the century advised people to wipe their faces daily with a scarlet cloth and to wash but once a week. Onyx was thought to strengthen the heart and ruby to protect from the Plague and resist poison. Diamonds also served against poison. Tumors were to be reduced by being stroked by a dead man's hand. Pills from the powdered skull of a hanged man, water drunk from the hand of his victim, powdered mummy, scorpion oil, dried entrails and chips from a gallows kept off the ague. The remedy for a severe flow of blood was to cleave a hen in two and lay her upon the wound and it would staunch. Further than that, all medicine was mixed with astrology.

The three great terrors of the English people were the Plague, or pest, the sweating sickness, or the smallpox. In 1665, the Plague would kill off 70,000 in London alone, and in many villages and towns, it would take away 90 percent of the cases.

FLIGHT OF THE TOWNSPEOPLE INTO THE COUNTRY TO ESCAPE FROM THE PLAGUE, A.D. 1630
"A Looking-glass for Town and Country;" broadside in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.

What I have thus far said will give you an impression of the life and times of the English people. But there is one other factor, the place of the Church in their lives. In 1601, the established Church, of course, ruled religious matters with a high hand. The Reformation was at high tide. Within seven years, from 1529-1536, King Henry VIII had severed the ancient bonds between the Church in England, the Church in Rome, and created chaos in the minds of the English people. Various substitutes for the Roman Church were created. The strong resistance of the Roman Catholic Church, the dissolution of her monasteries, the various acts of conformity, the reign of Mary and the persecutions in her name, intensified the religious difficulties even until the accession of Elizabeth 70 years later.

John Calvin. (*Unknown master about 1550. Museum Boymans—van Beuningen, Rotterdam*)

Puritanism in the reign of Elizabeth has its roots in the lives of English Protestants who fled England during the Marian persecutions. Living on the continent, they were influenced by the teachings of John Calvin. They returned to England upon Elizabeth's accession to the crown and became the religious radicals of her reign. They wanted to destroy every trace of Catholicism. The Puritans represented many shades of opinion. Nevertheless, the teachings of John Calvin was the basis of Puritan thought. In 1580, a group of extreme Puritans led by Robert Browne broke away from the Church altogether and began to preach a new form of religious organization: The congregation, the voluntary association of believers, should be the only ecclesiastical unit and should manage its affairs without supervision or control by any higher authority. These were the Separatists.

Robert Browne was born in Tolethorpe, in east central England, about 1550. He was a member of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge about 1570, taking his B.A. there in 1572. He was a Chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk and then taught for about three years. Even then, his conviction of his spiritual duty to his pupils was so strong that he was dismissed. The Plague forced him to go home, but his sense of duty was so strong that he returned to Cambridge and put himself under the tutelage of an advanced Puritan, the Rev. Richard Greenman. He soon developed such exploit power that he was invited to preach in Cambridge. He reexamined

principles, and decided that it must be the business of the Church itself and not the Bishops to call and receive him as a minister. He condemned the system openly and refused to become connected with any Church in Cambridge.

He found the conclusion which proved to be the long waited for pivot upon which further reform and the whole future of free churches would turn. He judged that the Kingdom of God was not to be begun by whole parishes, but the worthiest, were they ever so few. He considered that if there were not only faults but also open and abominable wickedness in any parish or company and they would not, or could not, redress them, but they were held in bondage by anti-Christian power, as were those parished in Cambridge by the bishops; then every true Christian was to leave such parishes and to seek the Church to go wheresoever. This act cut the knot that bound him to the established Church. Thenceforth, his quest was to find someplace where others thought, or could be brought to think, as he thought. Robert Harrison, whom he had known at Cambridge, joined him and together they formed the first substantially Congregational Church. The fundamental principles he laid down were those of Puritanism. He was not a restless, dissatisfied fanatic, looking everywhere for novelty until he conceived of democracy as a possible form of church polity.

The Separatists, or Congregationalists as they were later called, worshipped in gatherings known as conventicles, in which the forms of the established Church were not used. The Separatists made religion emotional. They rejected the necessity of a learned ministry and relied upon inspiration. They were violently anti-Catholic and violently anti-Anglican. Hence, they clashed with the government. Elizabeth wrote to the King of Scotland, *There is risen in your realm and mine a sect of perilous consequence, such as would have no kings but a presbytery and would take our place while they enjoy our privilege yet. Look we well unto them.*

ELIZABETH.
In the state costume worn at the service of thanksgiving at Saint Paul's Cathedral after the defeat of the Armada.

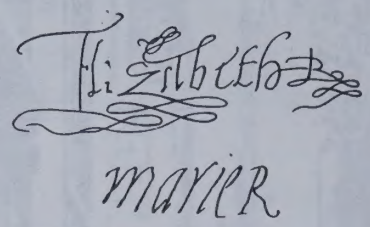
Browne's little church at Norwich became fully persuaded after much trouble and persecution that the Lord called them out of England, and in 1581 they migrated in a body to Middelburg in Holland. After about two years of changing fortunes, the congregation broke up mainly because the members proved incompetent to meet the high demands of this new religious system. Browne, with a few followers, got back to England and Scotland, where Browne recanted and rejoined the established Church.

All his books were destroyed and the Queen issued a special proclamation against all Brownists/Separatists.

As early as 1588 there are references to secret gatherings of Brownists/Separatists in or near London. Their leaders were caught and hanged and one entire congregation was surprised by the Queen's agents while worshipping in a woods outside London.

It was not long, however, before the authorities saw that they had gone too far. The majority of Brownists/Separatists were set free from prison, with the pledge that they would emigrate. They left England and eventually found themselves in Amsterdam. Here they came under the ministry of Henry Ainsworth, who filled a large place in the history of the English Separatists in Holland until his death in 1622.

The close of the sixteenth century found the Church of England honeycombed by the Presbyterians. There were plenty of Puritans both in and out of pulpits who were striving for better things. They were all seeking to move the Queen, the Court, and the State to blow the trumpet of true reform by which the Bishops would be overthrown and Church government should take the place of the hierarchy of Bishops.



AUTOGRAPHS OF ELIZABETH AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.
The *R* following each name is for *Regina* (queen).

When the seventeenth century came in 1601, the two persons who were to be the chief leaders of that pilgrim emigration, which was to have such a large part in shaping the fortunes of the New World, were living in England, within three miles of each other — William Brewster, in middle life, and William Bradford, who was just twelve years old. Brewster served as postmaster in Scrooby, and Bradford records that Brewster was in general esteem, was exceptionally active in promoting earnest religion, and that he had become a Separatist.

We should here note a fact which has considerable influence upon the early history of the Plymouth colony. The men who constituted the nucleus of the movement upon which Brewster and Bradford were to embark were mostly in the common walks of life. They had inborn intelligence, good sense, solid habits of industry, frugality and self-reliance, and such rude education as was within their reach. Few seem to have been landowners. In the main they were plain farmers.

to be continued in the May *Quarterly*.

Robert Orr Baker is a Lt. Colonel (Ret.) in the United States Army and a Deacon in the Episcopal Church. Besides his law school training, Robert has a Masters from the University of Minnesota and is a Ph.D. Candidate in American History; he also has attended Worcester College, Oxford. Robert resides in South St. Paul where he has received numerous awards for community service in the state and the seven county metro area.

THE PILGRIMS BEGINNINGS IN THE OLD WORLD

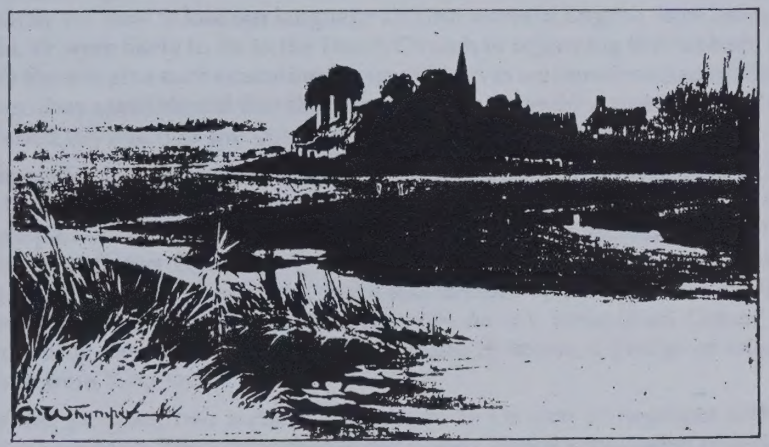
PART 2

by the Reverend Robert Orr Baker

Bradford was hardly more than sixteen years of age when the Scrooby Church was formed. Orphaned, his relatives intended him for the "affairs of husbandry" upon the farm which he inherited. About 1602, the Scriptures made a lasting impression upon his mind and he decided to withdraw from the State Church and to unite with the Separatists.

On December 1, 1607, William Brewster of Scrooby was cited before the High Court of Commission on information that he was a Brownist and disobedient in matters of religion. He was fined twenty pounds.

Now the question of exiling themselves became increasingly urgent as Bradford comments, "Seeing themselves thus molested and that there was no hope of their continuance there, by joint consent they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men, as also how sundry persons from London and other parts of this land had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause and were gone thither and lived at Amsterdam and in other places of the land. To leave their native soil and country, their lands and livings and all their friends and acquaintances, it was much thought marvelous by many, but to go into a country they knew not (but by hearsay), here they must learn a new language and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place and subject to the miseries of war, it was by many thought to be an adventure almost



SCROOBY—VIEW FROM THE RIVER.
(*From a sketch by* CHARLES WHYMPER.)

desperate, a case intolerable, and a misery worse than death, especially seeing they were not acquainted with trade nor traffic (by which this country doth subsist) but had only been used to a plain country life and the innocent trade of husbandry."

The emigration began in 1607 with betrayals in Boston (in which Brewster was kept in prison for a year) and Hull, where the officers of King James, arriving as the men were about to board, forced the boat to leave with many men left ashore.

In August, 1608, the Pilgrim emigration was completed.

In Amsterdam for a scant year, the Pilgrims of the Scrooby group — there were others from previous emigrations known as the Ancient Church — were in all over 150 persons. We do not know of their daily life. We do know, however, they sought to improve their religion. To the extent that they became convinced that their baptism was defective as infants cannot confess their faith, and that baptism having been handed down for centuries through a false church, that it was but an empty form. After a formal disavowal of the old vows, they got together and publicly declared that they were no longer baptized people, but simply individual Christians desiring church quality, fellowship and privilege according to the new manner which their more enlightened consciences could approve. Not wishing to become involved in the arguments which were current about the Church's polity, it was with a sense of relief that a petition was prepared for the Burgomasters of Leyden, in which permission was requested to move to that city.

THE LITTLE STREET OF THE BROWNISTS, AMSTERDAM

In February, 1609, permission was granted to the one hundred persons, or thereabouts, provided such persons behave themselves and obey the laws and ordinances. The migration from Amsterdam to Leyden was completed early in May, 1609.

The year 1610 with the exiles was one of comparative prosperity. Two weddings among them occurred and one single death was recorded. Six members of the company became citizens.

In 1611, the congregation purchased an estate. As they were forbidden to worship in any ordinary church, they were restricted to homes. Twenty-one houses were built on the grounds of the estate. In England, the supreme event of the year was the first issue of the Revised Bible, which we know as the King James version. The Pilgrims, however, clung to their German version.

In 1613, the Pilgrims were well settled in Leyden. They had become so far identified with its life as to feel measurably at home. The struggle for a living was still severe, but their increasing familiarity with the language and familiarity with the customs of the people made life a little easier. They prized their religious freedom, especially in the new controversy taking place in the Dutch Church.

GOVERNOR EDWARD WINSLOW.

Coming events of serious importance began to cast their shadows before and during 1617. It was becoming evident to the Pilgrims that Holland did not and could not afford the sort of refuge and opportunity they wanted. Uncertain though they were where to go, they decided that their very existence as a church, or even as a body of English people, depended upon their removal from Holland. Clearly, the Pilgrims were disappointed in their Dutch experiment. Their original hope of receiving considerable accessions from England had not been realized. Moreover, old age was stealing upon many. The danger also grew greater daily of absorption into the Dutch nation and of losing their English characteristics, to which they clung with intense loyalty.

Edward Winslow, later to be Governor of the Colony, wrote, "Considering amongst many other inconveniences, how hard the country was where we lived, how many spent their estate in it, and were forced to return to England, how grievous to live from under the protection of the State of England, how likely we were to lose our language and our name of English, how little good we did, or were likely to do to the Dutch Church in reforming the Sabbath, how unable there to give such education to our children as we ourselves had received." Further, they remembered that the truce with Spain would expire soon, and they had heard too much of the terrors to wish to risk their lives.

Reluctantly, but more and more clearly, they reached the conclusion that they must leave Holland. Long and earnest discussions ensued and they decided to go to some part of America. Then, the question arose, where in America to go? The choice lay between Guiana and some part of the North American Territory granted to the Virginia Company, and it was decided to attempt an independent settlement under the Virginia Government. As the Jamestown Colony was controlled by churchmen, an effort was made to secure a pledge of religious freedom from King James.

For this purpose, two members were sent to London to negotiate with the Virginia Company. They submitted to the Royal Council a somewhat remarkable paper subscribed in behalf of the Leyden Church by Robinson, its Pastor, and

Brewster, its Elder. The document presents, in seven propositions or articles, the position of the Pilgrims as to the English Government and especially the Established Church. It specifically assents to the Articles of the Church of England and acknowledges the authority of the King and the Bishops.

From Harper's Weekly by permission. Copyright, 1895, by Harper & Brothers

THE DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS FROM DELFSHAVEN, JULY, 1620

Early in the year 1620, the Dutch offered the Pilgrims free passage to the Hudson River and to furnish each family cattle if they would go with them. This offer came from the directors of the Amsterdam Company who controlled most of the trade to New Amsterdam, now New York. The Pilgrims were persuaded not to meddle with the Dutch and negotiations were abandoned. On February 2, a patent was issued approving plans to settle in Virginia. Preparations were hastened in Leyden and, "Those who were to go prepared themselves with all speed and sold off their estate as much as they were able and put their money into a common stock which was dispensed by those appointed for the making of general provisions."

It was concluded both what number and what persons should prepare themselves to go with the first, for all were willing to have gone. It was also promised to those who went first, by the body of the rest, that if the Lord gave them life and means and opportunity, they would come to them as soon as they could.

It was also agreed that those who went should be an absolute church unto themselves.

Meanwhile, the Speedwell, a vessel of about sixty tons to be used in America, had been bought and equipped to Holland where she was to bear the Pilgrims to England, where the Mayflower, three times her capacity, was to join in transporting them.

It was Friday, July 31, 1620, that the Pilgrims left Leyden for Delfshaven on the Maas River. The journey was about twenty-five miles. They found the Speedwell ready and, in addition to their Leyden friends, others had come from Amsterdam. They sailed the next day and after a quick passage to Southampton, they found the Mayflower. The two vessels set sail on August 5, but after covering about 150 miles, the Speedwell was reported to be leaking, and both vessels put in at Dartmouth. There it was decided to reduce the expedition to one shipload. The final departure was from Plymouth on Wednesday, September 6. There were 102 passengers aboard.

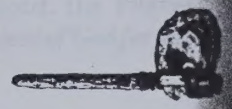
THE INDIANS AND THE PILGRIMS

By Anna M. Clendenning

Indian Peace Pipe
From original by Charles Bodmer. The Indian made peace not by signing a treaty but by smoking the pipe.

DURING the centuries after discovery of America, rivalry in the planting of the many different nations flags to claim territories in the name of the sovereigns was only a prelude to the capture of Indians to sell in European markets. In the early 1600's, among the slaves so taken, was a youth named Tesquantum of the Patuzet Tribe near what is now known as Cape Cod. During the selling of the North American slaves, many friars interrupted the proceedings and saved a few from the cruelties of a life without freedom. Fortunately, Tesquantum was among some of those freed from bondage. The friars took him to England, instructed him in the English language and the Christian faith. His tall stature and strength attracted the attention of a wealthy merchant named John Slanie who was also the treasurer of the Newfoundland Trading Company. With the Trading Company, the young man, now called Squanto, served as a bodyguard and gained the respect of his employer. As time passed, it became apparent that Squanto longed to return to his homeland. Mr. Slanie granted his leave of returning to the New England shore on a ship with the promise that he send back products of value to his employer, thus being an aid to the trading company.

Strangely, Squanto arrived at his homeland only six weeks before the storm-tossed *Mayflower* had arrived at Plymouth Rock. To his complete devastation, Squanto had found that all of his tribe had fallen prey to the plague. Among the remains in his village were supplies of seed corn preserved for the next year's planting. One can only imagine what this lonely Indian, perhaps in his twenties, clothed in English seaman's gear, had thought about his unfortunate predicament. However, this situation became a Godsend to the Pilgrims who were soon to arrive. Pathetically and hopefully, he found a companionship in one named Samoset of the Wampanoag tribe. Samoset proved eager to learn the rudiments of the English language and the two became close friends.



Indian Shell Axe

When they saw the good ship *Mayflower* make a landing, it seemed like the answer to lonely Squanto's prayers. He told his friend Samoset of his desire to meet the strangers in peace and dignity. As they noted, with the building of houses and fortresses on a hilltop, it was ever more evident these people came in peace, rather than to capture slaves as had former new arrivals.

When Sunday worship sounded loudly throughout the woodlands, Squanto told his friend the meaning of the hymns of praise for he had observed and held the religion of the English in awe. After observing the Pilgrims activities, their desire to meet with them became more pronounced. Together, they carefully planned the meeting. First, Samoset was sent to tell other Indians that these English people came in peace. Then he went to the Pilgrims to announce the presence of Squanto, who had lived in England. What a moment of surprise was in store for the Pilgrims when Samoset strode toward the group, saying, *I come in peace to introduce my friend Squanto, who speakes English better than I.*

Squanto brings eels

Winslow and Brewster looked at each other in amazement as the talk with Squanto continued. They became convinced that he had been sent as a special instrument from God. Of course, from his viewpoint, Squanto thought the Pilgrims had been sent to save him from loneliness and to bring Christian brotherhood. When they offered him lodging in the fort, he knew that life would become complete for him. He told stories of his tribe and tragedy of succumbing to the plague. Winslow later said, shamefully, that they had taken the seed corn, but would return it. Squanto shook his head no, promising to teach them how to plant for the best harvest next year.

Indian War Club

The next matter of importance was a meeting for peace between the Indian leaders and the Pilgrims. This was carefully arranged and negotiated with Chief Yellow Feather, otherwise known as Massasoit, through the diplomacy and translation of Squanto. Gifts were exchanged and a pact was drawn in simple terms. The treaty stated that any Indian caught in the act of ill will was to be brought to Chief Massasoit for punishment and any Pilgrim causing harm to an Indian would be brought before Governor Winslow for appropriate punishment. The two groups sealed the treaty with drafts of *strong water* and hand shakes.

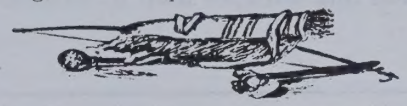
Fortunately, the free invitation to enjoy the food and ale brought from the ship's hold had repercussions when Indians continued to bring their squaws to imbibe freely. After too many such friendly invasions, Winslow had to appeal to Chief Massasoit, fearing that all of their supplies might be exhausted. With understanding and embarrassment, the Chief put an end to the practices.

There can be no doubt that the Indian peace treaty was the most important agreement in the new world next to the Mayflower Compact. A peace pact that was to last until St. Phillips war, assured friendly relations that otherwise might have become just another massacre between the two cultures. The nearest recorded skirmish that may have lead to a serious confrontation happened to be a teasing insult flung by some youthful Indians. Captain Miles Standish was short in stature with a hot temper to match. Secretly, he was sometimes called Captain Shrimp, but never to his face. When Indian braves learned of his nickname without being told to keep it quiet, they taunted him saying, *Captain Shrimp, Captain Shrimp.* Only his own troops could restrain Captain Standish from doing battle.

The relationship was of the best between the Pilgrims and the Wampanoags. In fact, had they not both been mutually helpful during the first hard winter at Plymouth Plantation, even more disasterous results could have occurred; thus destroying the whole Pilgrim village.

After first successful harvest, a great celebration of Thanksgiving was held for days with the roasting of many wild fowl and the four deer brought by the Indians. Nuts were gathered and native berries were allowed to ferment during the summer that was rendered into wine. The results were *not at all bad* as attested by the Pilgrim fathers. Also, the great crop of corn or maise, previously an unfamiliar product, was made into many wonderful forms of food.

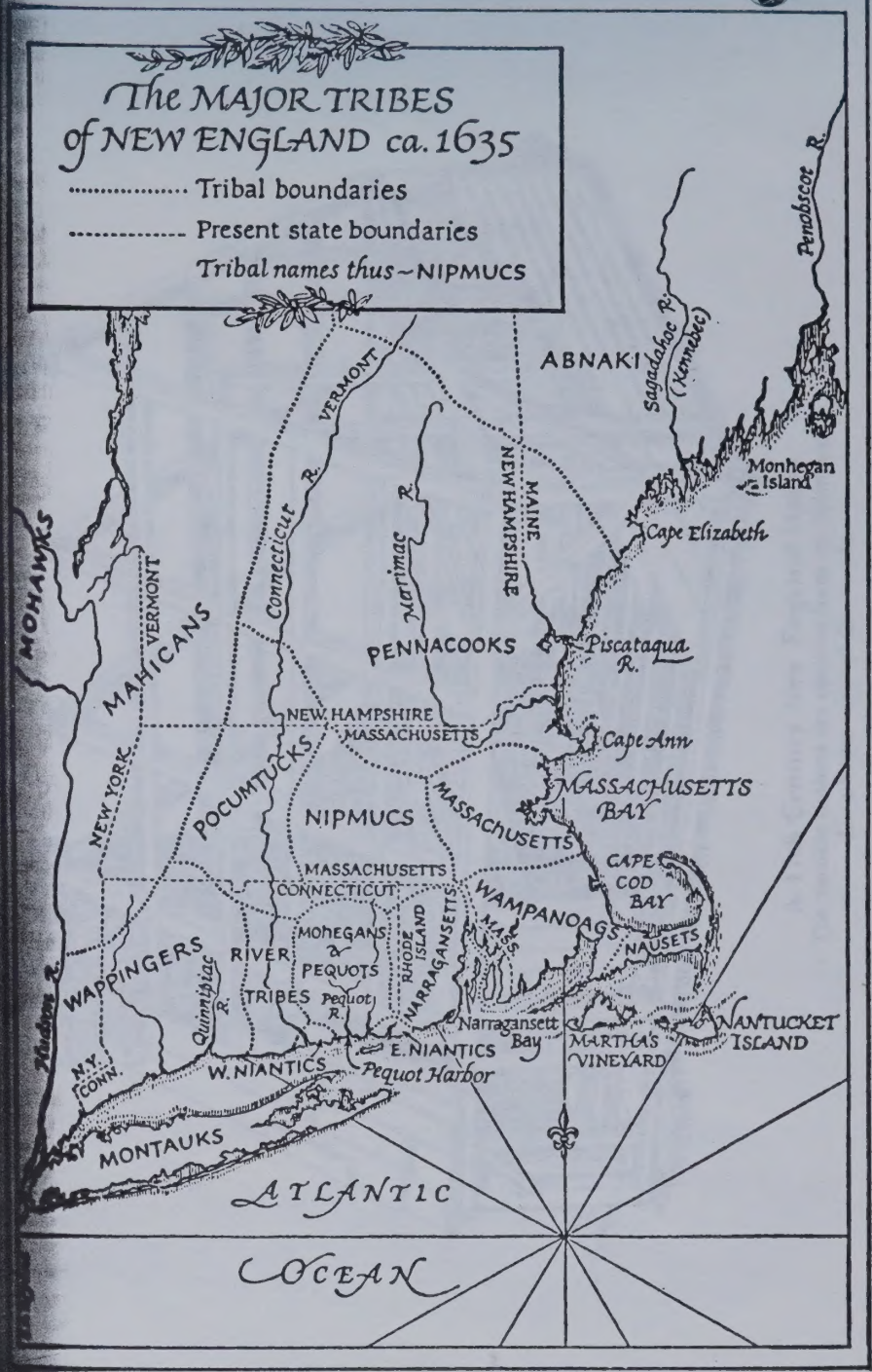
Meanwhile in Virginia, where the Mayflower had intended to land, constant battles between the Indians and the new Virginians raged. Of course, they did not have the diplomatic Squanto, educated in England and of Christian faith to negotiate for them. Indeed, the Pilgrims expressed it well in saying, *He was a speciall instrumente sent of God for their good beyond expectations.*

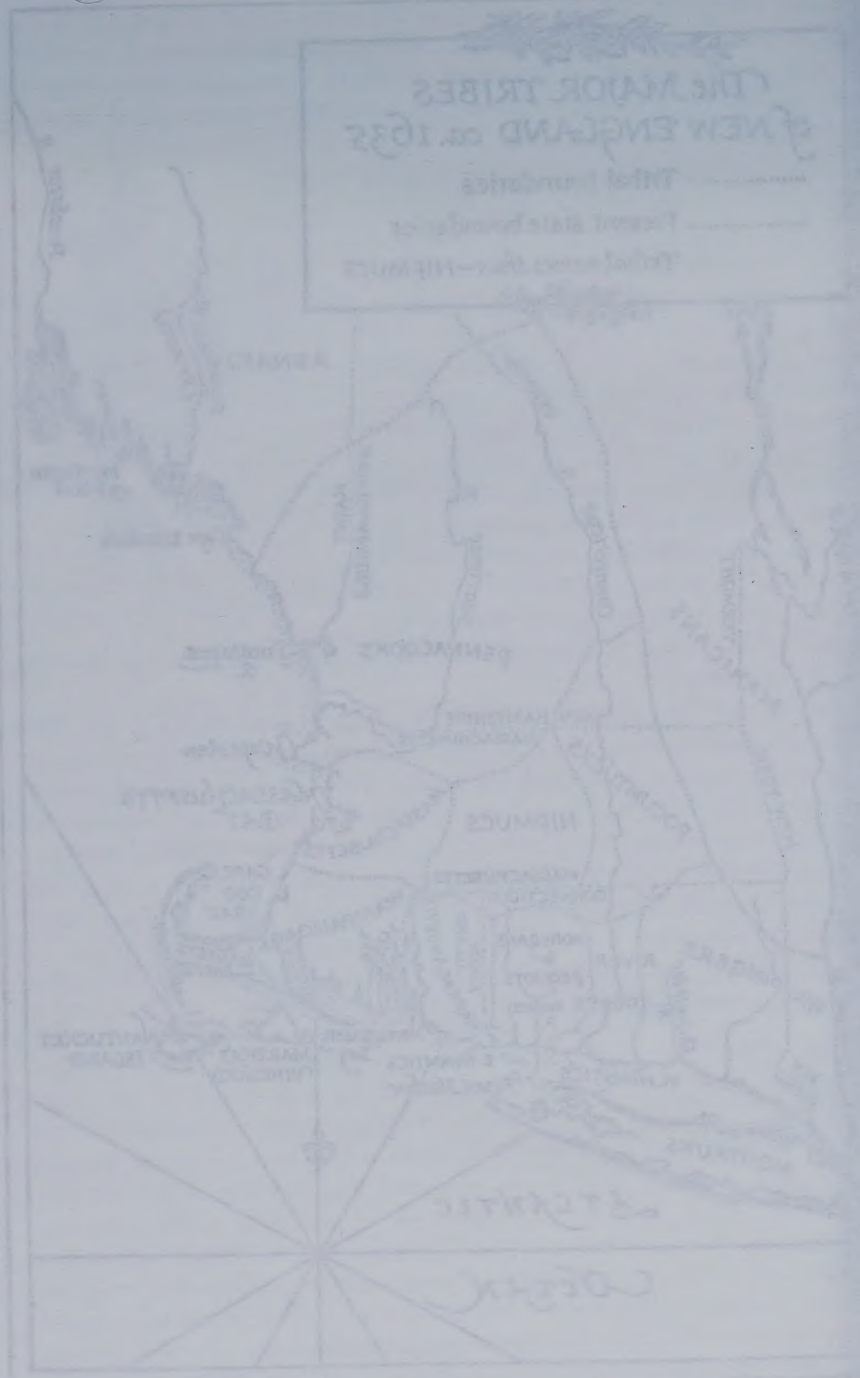


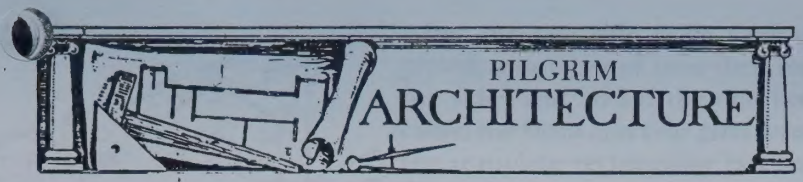
Mrs. Anna M. Clendenning retired several years ago. Her profession was engineering and she was with NASA as an advisor in several of the missile and space programs. She is a member of the Los Angeles Colony and lives at 19129 Nordhoff St., Essex Dr. 15, Northridge, CA 91324.

The natives of Cape Cod . . . and their successors ever remained fast friends of the white. Indeed, the very extensive missionary labor among them was far more effective and enduring than the justly famed work in Massachusetts by John Eliot.

John A. Goodwin *(1594-1665)*
English Non-conformist Divine




THE MAJOR TRIBES
OF NEW ENGLAND ca. 1635
Tribal boundaries
Present state boundaries
Tribal names italic—PEQUOTS
ABENAKIS
PENNACOOKS
NIPMUCS
MASSACHUSETTS
NARRAGANSETS
PEQUOTS
MONTAUKS



17TH CENTURY TIMBER FRAMED CONSTRUCTION

THE better seventeenth century homes and buildings in the European continent, England and America were mostly constructed by the timber framed or half timber style. This type of construction was used until the 19th century when the balloon or new stud design was used with either two by fours or with two by sixes; the same construction that is used to the present day.

To build a home, the trees were first felled and squared into timbers from the boxed heart of a log by the use of a broadaxe or an adze. (see figure 1a) Later, large iron pit saws were also used, so two to four men could handle the sawing of the large beams. This method also produced rough cut timbers, since the cutting was all done by hand. Table saws had not been adopted nor had saw mills yet been built.

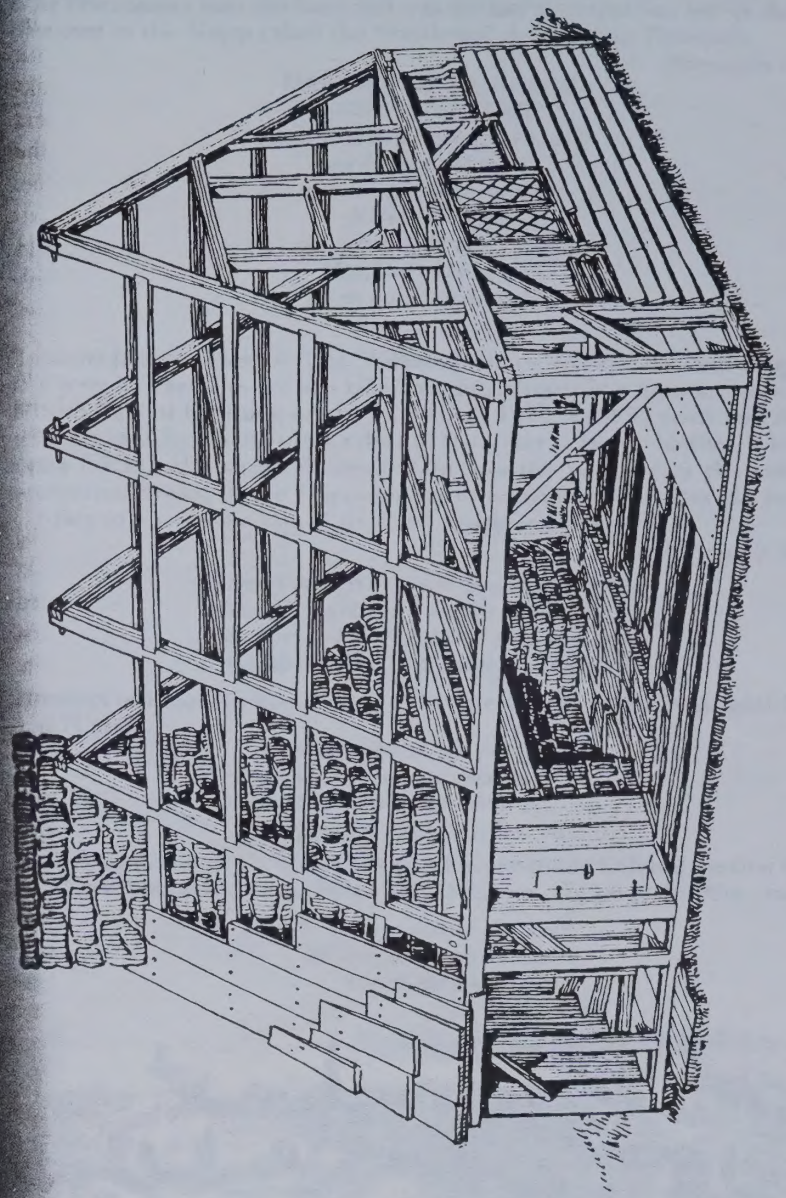
From the plentiful supply of large trees, oak was most commonly used, but other hardwoods of ash, birch and fir were sometimes felled. The timbers were often up to 30 feet long, and, in larger buildings, they were as long as 50 feet.

The next step was to attach all of the beams and timbers of the two side walls while they were still flat on the ground. This prefabrication was done with the mortise and tenon joints as shown on figure 2. Then wooden pegs were driven into the holes to act as the holding device. Large metal spikes were not yet used, because of their expense and limited availability.

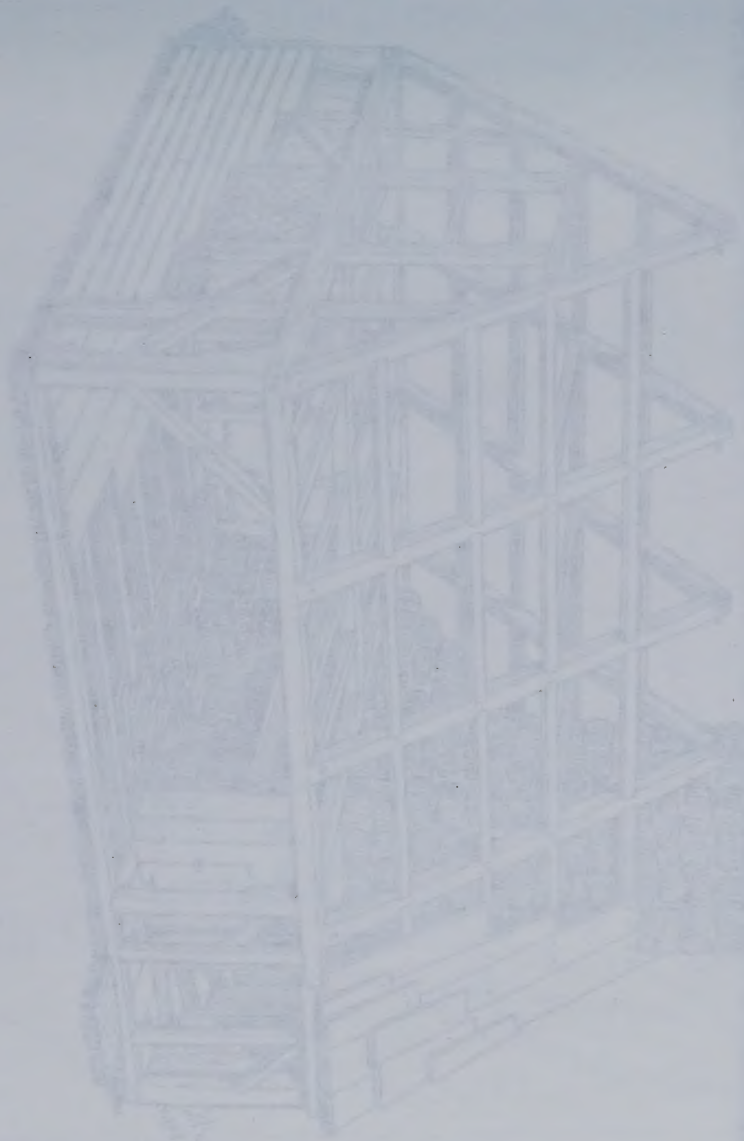
Figure 1a

Figure 1b

Figure 1c



A 17th Century New England House
The verticle timbers are omitted from the front wall for a better view of the details.



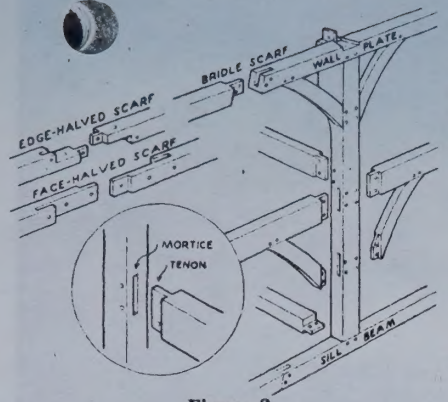


Figure 2

After the two side walls were completed, a number of men then reared the sides and added the end beams, called the front and rear girts, to make the complete rectangular box shape. These beams or girts were raised by hand and pushed up higher with poles or pikes. Next, the end walls were completed with more timbers that were *halved* and *slabbed* to give the structure a sound and sturdy frame. (Figure 1b & 1c) A tree of approximately 10 inches in diameter would furnish two slabbed rafter beams. These rafters were then added to finish the roof construction before the one to two inch slabbed shingle slates were added.

There were other more detailed and elaborate mortise and tenon joints. These include the edge-halved scarf, the bridle scarf, and the elaborate face-halved scarf to join shorter timbers together (figure 2). Notice the curved support beams that run diagonally; these beams are called corbels. They are also called corbel arches when they are left exposed as decorative beams in roof construction. This support can be seen in many of the Gothic churches today, with a very decorative detail in the roof interior. The Pilgrim fathers had a great deal of skill and detailed craftsmanship in making a quality water and wind resistant home. First wattle, then lime plaster was used in the interior for both insulation, stability, decorative value and ease of cleaning. Later, wood slab floors were added.

Sometimes the two ends were reared where the end walls had already been assembled with the gable or roof line (Figure 3). After the roof beams and rafters were placed and attached, the house raising group or housing bee party would then have a large feast or banquet, return to their homes, and leave the smaller details to the new home owners.

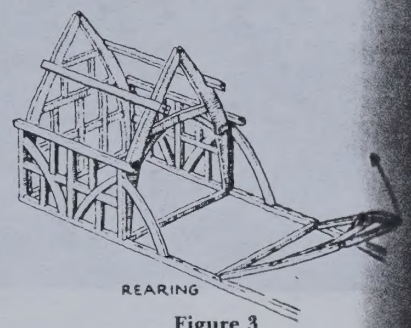


Figure 3

Houses are built to live in, more than to look on; therefore, let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had.

Francis Bacon *(1561-1626)*
English Author & Philosopher

EPITAPHS FROM OLD BURIAL HILL PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS

Hee was a godly man and an ancient professor in the wayes of Christ. Hee was one of the first comers into this land and was the last man that was left of those that come over in the Shipp called the Mayflower that lived in Plymouth.

Plymouth Records

Here ended the Pilgrimage of
JOHN HOWLAND
who died February 23, 1672/3
aged above 80 years.
He married Elizabeth daughter of
JOHN TILLEY
who came with him in the
Mayflower Dec. 1620
From them are desended
numerous posterity.

Bathsheba James, widow of Capt. William Holmes, 3rd Mariner and daughter to Capt. Joseph Doten Do. she was killed instantaneously in a thunder storm by the Electrich fluid of lightning on the 6th of July 1820, aged 35 years and 26 days.

She was an affectionate wife; a dutiful Daughter, a happy mother, a kind and sincere friend. Alas sweet Blossom short was the period that thy enlivening virtures contributed to the Happiness of those connections; But oh, how long have they to mourn the loss of so much worth and Excellence.

Plymouth Records

Farewell dear Wife untill that day more blest
When if deserving I with thee shall rest,
With thee shall rise with thee shall live above
In worlds of endless bliss and boundless love.

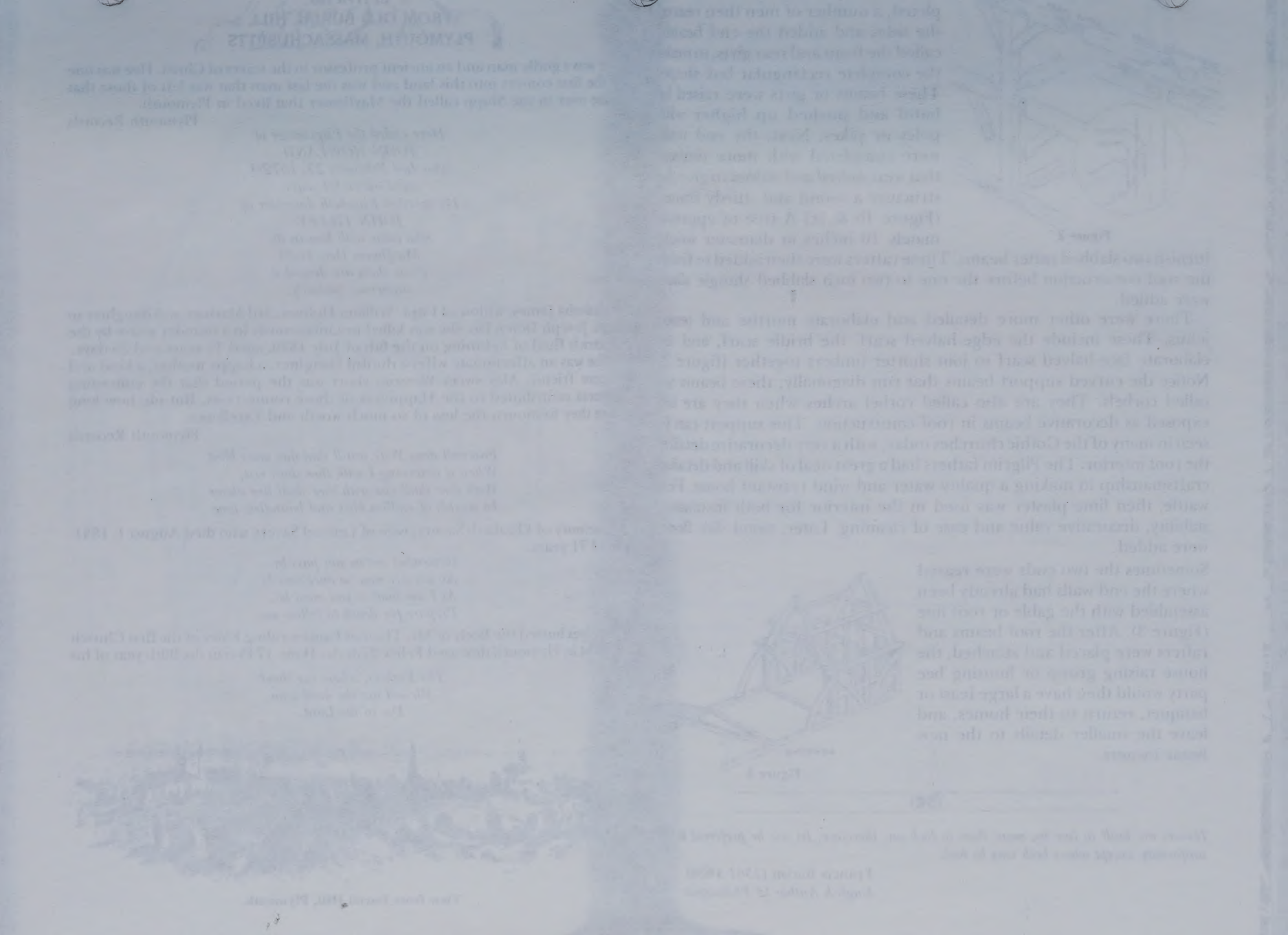
In memory of Elizabeth Savery, wife of Lemuel Savery who died August 1, 1831, Aged 71 years.

Remember me as you pass by,
As you are now so once was I;
As I am now so you must be,
Prepare for death to follow me.

Here lyes buried the Body of Mr. Thomas Faunce ruling Elder of the first Church of Crist in Plymouth deseased Febry 27th An:Dom. 1745-6 in the 99th year of his Age.

The Fathers, where are they?
Blessed are the dead who
Die in the Lord.

View from Burial Hill, Plymouth.



From the original Oil Painting in Pilgrim Hall

Courtesy of Pilgrim Hall

The Fir giving

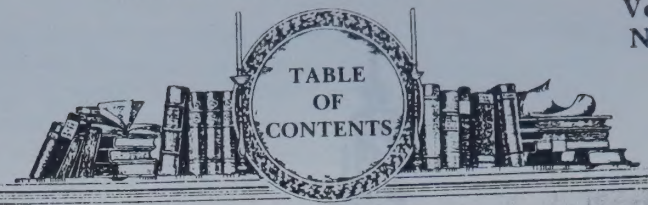
By Ja mbe

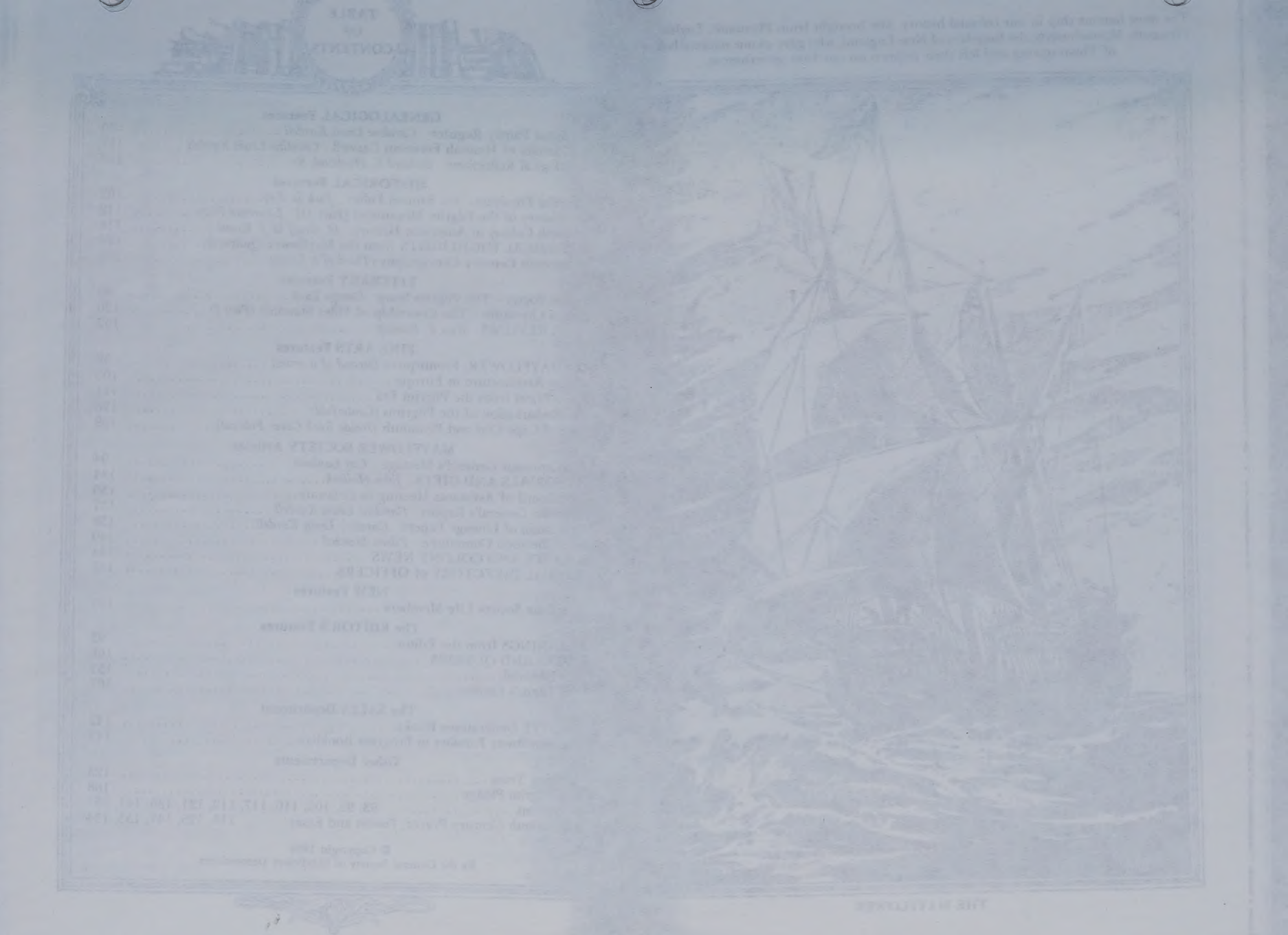
The most famous ship in our colonial history. She brought from Plymouth, England, to Plymouth, Massachusetts, the founders of New England, who gave us our national holiday of Thanksgiving and left their impress on our later government.

THE MAYFLOWER

THE MAYFLOWER QUARTERLY

Volume 54
Number 2





LEIDEN CITY HALL WHERE THE PILGRIMS WERE GRANTED PERMISSION TO RESIDE IN LEIDEN

THE beautiful Leiden City Hall, the Stad-huis, was a very familiar building to the Pilgrims for it was within the halls that they were first granted permission to reside in Leiden, Holland, after their move from Amsterdam. The births, deaths and registration of marriages were recorded here as well as the purchasing and selling of properties. The Pilgrims also had to nominate procurators for their business plans after their decision to sail to America in the summer of 1620.

The building probably held the official offices which received the questioned second grant from the Dutch Company to settle in the area north of the Virginia Colony's jurisdiction in America. These grants usually would have to have been recorded with the City Officials, as were other patents.

The facade was only fourteen years old, when the Pilgrims moved from Amsterdam to Leiden. With the beautiful Dutch or Flemish Renaissance facade, it was considered one of the most impressive buildings in Leiden next to the impressive Royal residences and the many Churches. The facade was designed by Lieven De Key and Luder van Bentheim in 1595; it was the new Dutch interpretation of the new classical school at that time. This popular style was soon adapted in Germany and Elizabethan England.

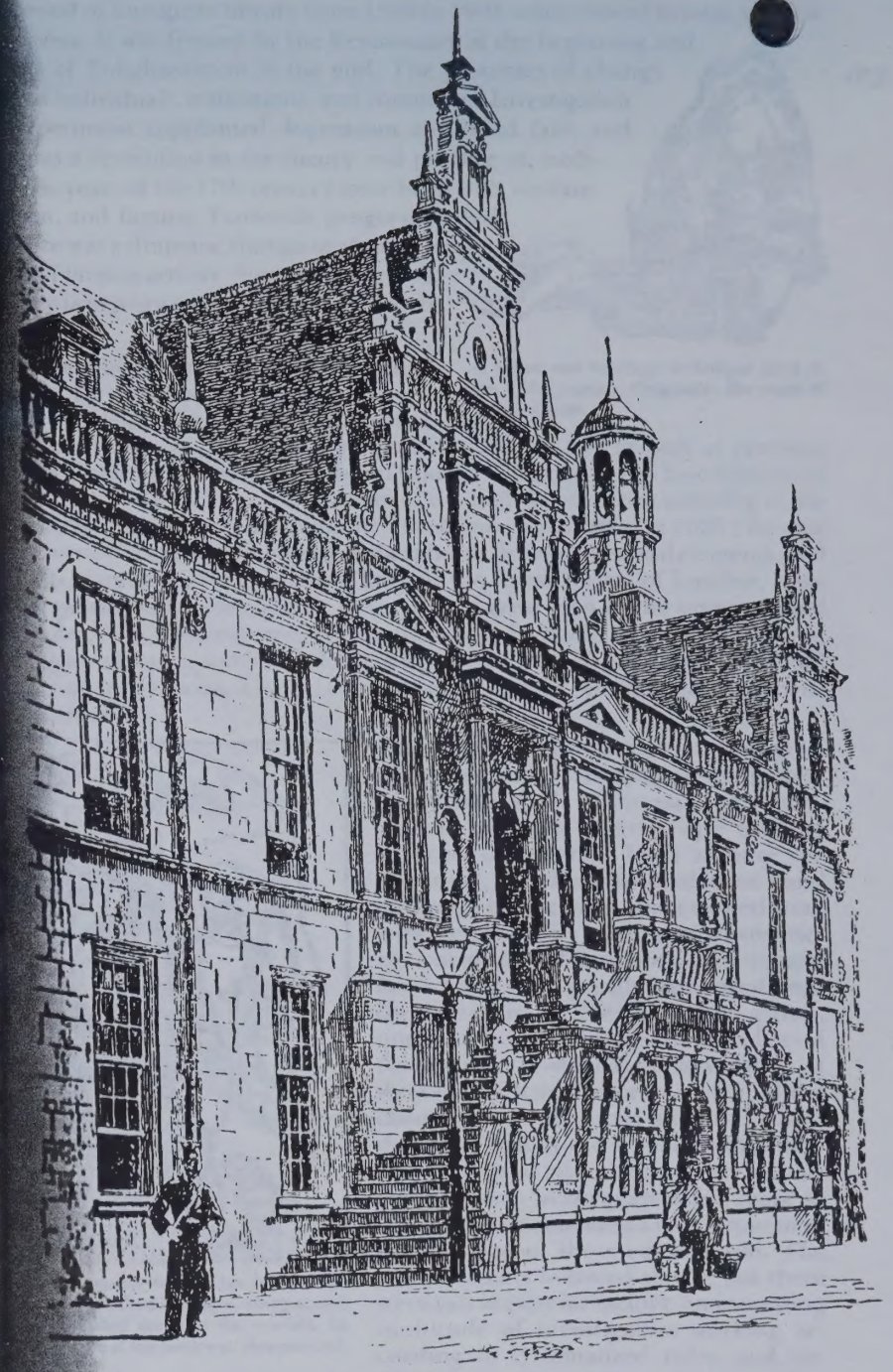
The top gabled design on the third floor carries the classical gabled front that is enriched with scrolls and round portals. The first and second level designs are balanced with fluted Ionic columns. The double staircase has an Italianate column design in the front, the same as the columns on the gabled third floor. The windows on each side of the entrance are straight Greek pediment style. The intricate strapwork, fretwork and bas-relief designs are especially noteworthy.

The building, also later known as the Rathhaus or the Hauptgiebel, had shutters added sometime after 1894. The engravings and photographs, after the turn of the century, show shutters on both levels. It is one of the outstanding Renaissance examples in Holland and is the only line drawing of a Dutch building in one of the most important Architectural Reference books.*

**A History of Architecture,* by Sir Banister Fletcher (Once president of the Royal Institute of British Architects), originally published in 1896.

In the elder days of Art,
Builders wrought with greatest care
Each minute and unseen part;
For the gods see everywhere.

Henry W. Longfellow
The Builders



The Stad-huis, Leyden. (Leiden)

THE PILGRIM PHYSICIAN DOCTOR SAMUEL FULLER (1580-1633) OF THE MAYFLOWER

Jack D. Key, M.A., M.S.

CAN 20th Century man understand fully his origins? The present seems to stand apart from the rest of history in the brilliance of modern technology. In any era it is a problem to examine the course of history without being blinded by the present. To understand and appreciate our present, we need to study the past.[1]

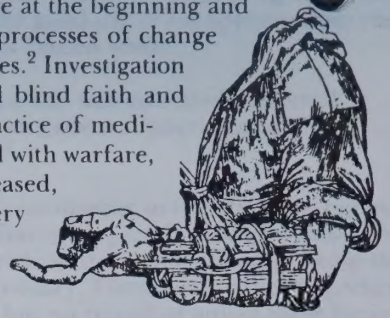
That period of the development of Western civilization which bridged the gap between the Middle Ages and the modern world was an age of skepticism—glorious in art, culture, and scholarship and rich in social and political life. This span of time historians term the Renaissance, and it is somewhat arbitrarily stated to cover the years 1450 to 1600. Its beginnings were stimulated by, among other events, the fall of Constantinople, which drove Byzantine scholars with their accumulated manuscripts and knowledge into western Europe. Its closing is marked by the advent of Galileo's age of measurement and Harvey's employment of the new scientific method of research.

Many forces were operative during the expansion of the Renaissance. There was an intellectual revival, the renewed emphasis of the individual. The advent of printing had a powerful influence on the dissemination of knowledge. The religious movements of the Reformation were taking hold as evident by the Separatist movement in England including the Pilgrim band to Holland and America, the Calvinist expansion in Scotland followed by Cromwell's revolutionary reign, and the Lutheran growth on the continent.

Art, architecture, sculpture and painting also blossomed forth with undreamed of vitality. There were many geographical discoveries including further exploration in America by Cartier, DeSoto, Coronado, Cabrillo, and Henry Hudson at Albany. Drake had circumvented the globe. There was the landing of the Pilgrims in Plymouth in 1620. There was also the rising fever of nationalism and a wide expansion of commerce.

In comparison with the remarkable developments of culture in the form of learning and art, science during this period lagged somewhat. Nevertheless, there were many advances. The work of Galileo and his introduction of the telescope revolutionized astronomy. Roger Bacon discovered chemicals and many chemical laws. Careful and systematic studies of the structure of the human body were made. Enhanced medical art contributed greatly to anatomic teaching.

The period of European history from 1500 to 1800, when viewed in total, was one of progress. It was framed by the Renaissance at the beginning and the Age of Enlightenment at the end. The processes of change involved individuals, institutions, and countries.[2] Investigation and experiment supplanted dogmatism and blind faith and there was a revolution in the theory and practice of medicine. The years of the 17th century were filled with warfare, rebellion, and famine. Economic progress ceased, and there was a dramatic change in almost every sphere of human activity. Out of this turmoil, our contemporary civilization slowly emerged.[3]



A splint and bandage technique used in the 17th Century. Originally the work of Guido Guidi.

Science, on the other hand, moved dramatically forward in these years. The change was more like a mutation in scientific knowledge compared with its gradual variation and growth of previous centuries. Galileo published his *Dialogo* (Dialogue Concerning the Two Systems of the World) in 1632 and was really a man of the high Renaissance ushering in the 17th century.[4] René Descartes published his *Discourse on Method* in 1636 (the year that Harvard College was founded). Robert Boyle defined chemical elements, and his group of intellectual companions became the Royal Society of London. Isaac Newton published his *Principia* in 1687.[3] Other great men of the time included Kepler, Reubens, Shakespeare, Milton, Rembrandt, Bach, Cervantes, Moliere, Bacon, Spinoza, Lock, and Wren. Each in his own sphere left a model which would stand for all generations. The period was one of conflict, energy, and individual accomplishment.

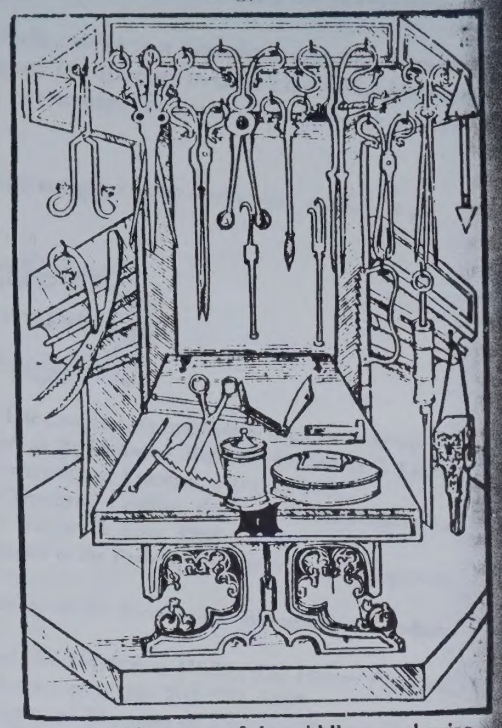
Seventeenth Century treatments for the eye included wicks soaked in honey, vinegar, and verdigris threaded through the eyelids. In Europe, the nape of the neck was also pierced.

Medicine shared in the general progress of the century. Physiology, gross pathology, clinical study of disease, and investigation with the microscope became branches of research. Their advance was not linear, and the individual items stand out much more clearly when viewed from later perspectives. Many new discoveries were made and older theories questioned. Knowledge was greatly enhanced concerning many of the important glands, ducts, and body systems. A number of developments—such as demonstration of the value of lemon juice in scurvy, of the chemical roles of gastric juice and bile in digestion, and of the sequelae of alcoholism, cretinism, and rickets—were important advances in themselves but more so because they demanded a readjustment of the thinking of the medical world. The readjustments followed slowly, but there were two important factors. an increasing multitude of investigators working according to systematized rules, and improved scientific communication through societies. Of great importance was the emergence of the scientific journal. The practice of medicine shared only belat-

ed the scientific accomplishments of the 17th century.

The epochal concept of William Harvey (1578-1657) of the circulation of the blood and his method of research proved to be the catalysts that altered the course of medical thinking and certainly transformed cardiology.

Practically in dead center of these eventful years marking the closing of one era and the beginning of another appeared Samuel Fuller, the subject of this vignette.[5] He was born in Norfolk County, England in 1580 to a prominent family. The father, Robert, was a butcher—which was ranked with the trades and professions. Unfortunately little is known of Samuel's early life, and nothing of his formal education—(it is not unreasonable to assume that he was versed in the medical writings and teachings of his day). However, we do know that Samuel Fuller, at some time in his early years, formed a close friendship with William Bradford; became a deacon in the church; married an Alice Glascock, who only lived a short time; moved to Leyden; and in 1613 married Agnes Carpenter. Death, again, soon robbed Samuel of his wife, and in 1617, at Leyden, he married his third and last wife — Bridget Lee.



An operating room of the middle ages showing the surgical instruments of *Heironymus Brunschwig*, Chirgurgia and used through the 17th Century. Courtesy of the *New York Academy of Medicine*.

More is known of his life at Leyden.

> He was reckoned as one of the persons of large means, and both on account of his blood and marriage connections with many of the leading families of Rev. John Robinson's congregation, as well as the power of his own force of character, he early became an active and important factor in the affairs of that band of Separatists. Fuller joined the Scrooby band of Pilgrims at Leyden in 1609...[5]

Samuel Fuller was both active and influential in the negotiations and preparations for fitting out the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*.

> He was the first signer to the letter written jointly by Fuller, Winslow, Bradford and Allerton to Carver and Cushman, date June 10 (new Style), 1620, in which they sharply criticise Cushman's actions in his dealings with the Virginia Company and later with the Merchant Adventurers while acting as the agent for the Pilgrims.[5]

He was also the eighth signer of the Mayflower Compact. This famous declaration is the basis of civil self-government and calls for unity and submission to a government that by common consent they make and choose.[5]

It seems reasonable to speculate that Samuel Fuller — possessing a tive, energetic and inquiring mind — would make good use of his opportunities and advantages to become well equipped for his chosen work.

> ...It can be positively said that while he was well educated in clerical matters, his profession was medicine, and it was as physician and not as minister that he came to America.[5]

It should here be noted that Samuel Fuller's occupation in the *Mayflower* passenger list is given as Physician. Also history has subsequently awarded Fuller the distinction of being the first physician to settle in the Colonies and as being the pioneer English-speaking physician of this country. There were earlier physicians who accompanied expeditions to Virginia, but no record of any of these having settled there.[5-6]

> The first physician of whom we have any account among the Colonists was Dr. Samuel Fuller...Whether he had enjoyed a collegiate education is uncertain, but he is said to have been well qualified in his profession...

Other than episodes of seasickness during the long *Mayflower* voyage there apparently was very little sickness among the passengers for Dr. Fuller to treat. One of the seamen contracted a *grieveous disease of which he dyed in a desperate manner, and was ye first yt was throwne overboard.*[5] Shortly before landfall William Butten, servant-student to Dr. Fuller, died. He was the only passenger who died on the voyage. Also before landfall, Elizabeth, wife of Stephen Hopkins, was delivered of a son — the first birth during the voyage. On November 27, 1620, William White's wife gave birth to a son — the first child born in Cape Cod Harbor. There was at least one more birth on the *Mayflower*. On December 22, 1620, the Isaac Allertons had a baby which was born dead. The mother died two months later.[5-7]

Very shortly after anchoring in Cape Cod Harbor sickness and death stalked the Colonists. Extant accounts tell us that during the more than one month that the *Mayflower* lay in the Harbor there were several deaths from illnesses and one death from drowning. On reaching Plymouth still more sick and a number of deaths were reported. Within two to three months half of the group had died. The exact nature of this first general illness is not known.

Various accounts inform us that Dr. Fuller during his years with the Colony must have seen several epidemic diseases, i.e., smallpox, dysentery, typhus fever, typhoid, and measles. He must have had to cope with scurvy, acute coughs and colds, pneumonia, rheumatism, to cure injuries and to dress wounds. There is evidence that the doctor practiced bleeding. Several letters written by Dr. Fuller note that he also knew that the infectious nature of a disease like plague called for remedies other than bleeding, i.e., drugs. It is also known that Dr. Fuller did not limit his services just to the settlers in Plymouth. It seems that to him a sick person was a sacred call to duty — whether Puritan, Pilgrim, Huguenot, Catholic, friend, foe, white man or Indian, and that all should receive the best he had to offer.[5-7]

Dr. Fuller's wife and daughter came over on the *Anne* in 1623. He had a total of four children — one of his grandsons was the first physician in Middleboro. In the summer of 1633, he along with a number of others in Plymouth died of a fever.[5-7]

...tide events related to the *Mayflower*, the Plymouth Colonists and Dr. Samuel Fuller — we see that he was held in high esteem and known for his Christian virtues and wise counsel. He was considered to be a gentleman, and a good doctor, and that he was charitable towards others. He also had solicitude for the education of the children. His will (the first will probated in the country) supports this interest in education and the need for perpetuating it.

The life practiced by Dr. Samuel Fuller depicts a broadminded, hardworking, kind and charitable Christian physician. He appears to be as knowledgable and as effective a doctor as his time and circumstances permitted. He was a worthy representative of his profession.

> ...he was zealous in the cause of religion, and eminently useful as a physician and surgeon.[6]

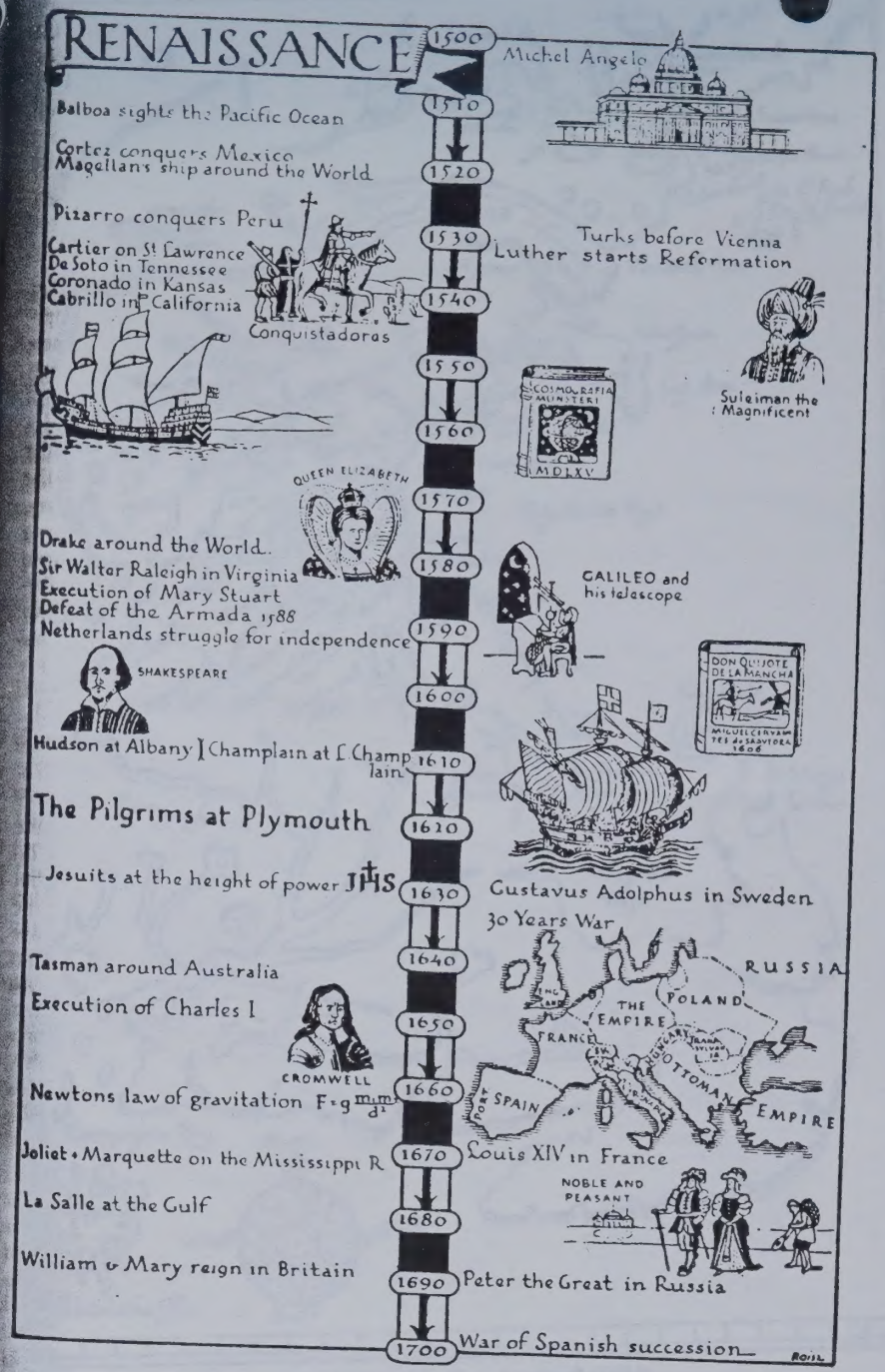
REFERENCES

1. Butterfield, H.: Cited by Holmes FL: The case history method in the historiography of the medical sciences. *In Modern Methods in the History of Medicine*. Edited by E. Clarke. London, The Athlone Press of the University of London, 1971, p. 219.
2. Trevor-Roper, H.R.: *The Crisis of the Seventeeth Century; Religion, the Reformation and Social Change*. Hagerstown, Maryland, Harper & Row, 1968.
3. Major, J.R.: *The Western World: Renaissance to the Present*. Philadelphia, JB Lippincott, 1966, p. 233.
4. Sarton, G.A.L.: *Six Wings: Men of Science in the Renaissance*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1957, p. 3.
5. Harrington, T.F.: Dr. Samuel Fuller, of the Mayflower (1620), *The Pioneer Physician. Bulletin of The Johns Hopkins Hospital* 14 (No. 151): pp. 263-270, 1903.
6. Thacher, J.: American Medical Biography or Memoirs of Eminent Physicians Who Have Flourished in America to Which is Prefixed a Succinct History of Medical Science in the United States from the First Settlement of the Country. First Published in Boston in 1828. New York, Milford House, 1967, pp. 16-17, 266-267.
7. Wellington, W.W.: *Biographical Sketches...* Boston Medical and Surgical Journal 105:494, 1881.

For general information also see: **1)** Medicine in Colonial America. Ciba Symposia 1:336-396, March, 1940. (Within this issue are articles on Colonial Epidemic Diseases, Colonial Medical Practice, and Obstetrics and Colonial America.) **2)** Marti-Ibanez, F. (ed): History of American Medicine — A symposium. New York, MD Publications, 1958.

Jack D. Key is the Chief Librarian at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota. He received his MA at the University of New Mexico and his MS at the University of Illinois. Mr. Key also holds the academic rank of Associate Professor in the Mayo Medical School. His address is 624 - 23rd St. NE, Rochester, MN 55904.

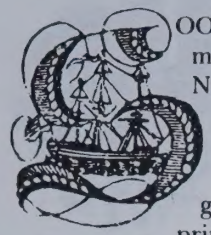
All engravings are from the library of Dr. Raymond Lee of the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota.



CARTOGRAPHY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(Third in a Series)

17th Century Astrolobe

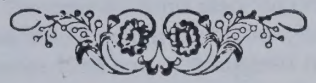


SOON after the Plymouth settlement in 1620 and the Puritan settlement of 1630, William Wood produced the illustrated map of New England, the first complete map made by a resident of the new country.

The map was published a year after Wood returned to England. The map was illustrated in his book, *New England's Prospect*, printed in London in 1634. It was another one of the important books that probably persuaded many more English citizens to come to America as did *Mourt's Relation*. However, *New England's Prospect* was probably published before Mourt's famous book. This proof is shown by the registration of Wood's book by the Stationers Register on *7 Julii, 1634. Mourt's Relation* is dedicated to the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, a body that was not created until 28 April, 1634.[1] The Wood book contains a complete description of the flora and fauna and the native tribes. It is thought that Mr. Wood came over to America again in 1635, as there is a passenger by that name on the *Hopewell* manifest.

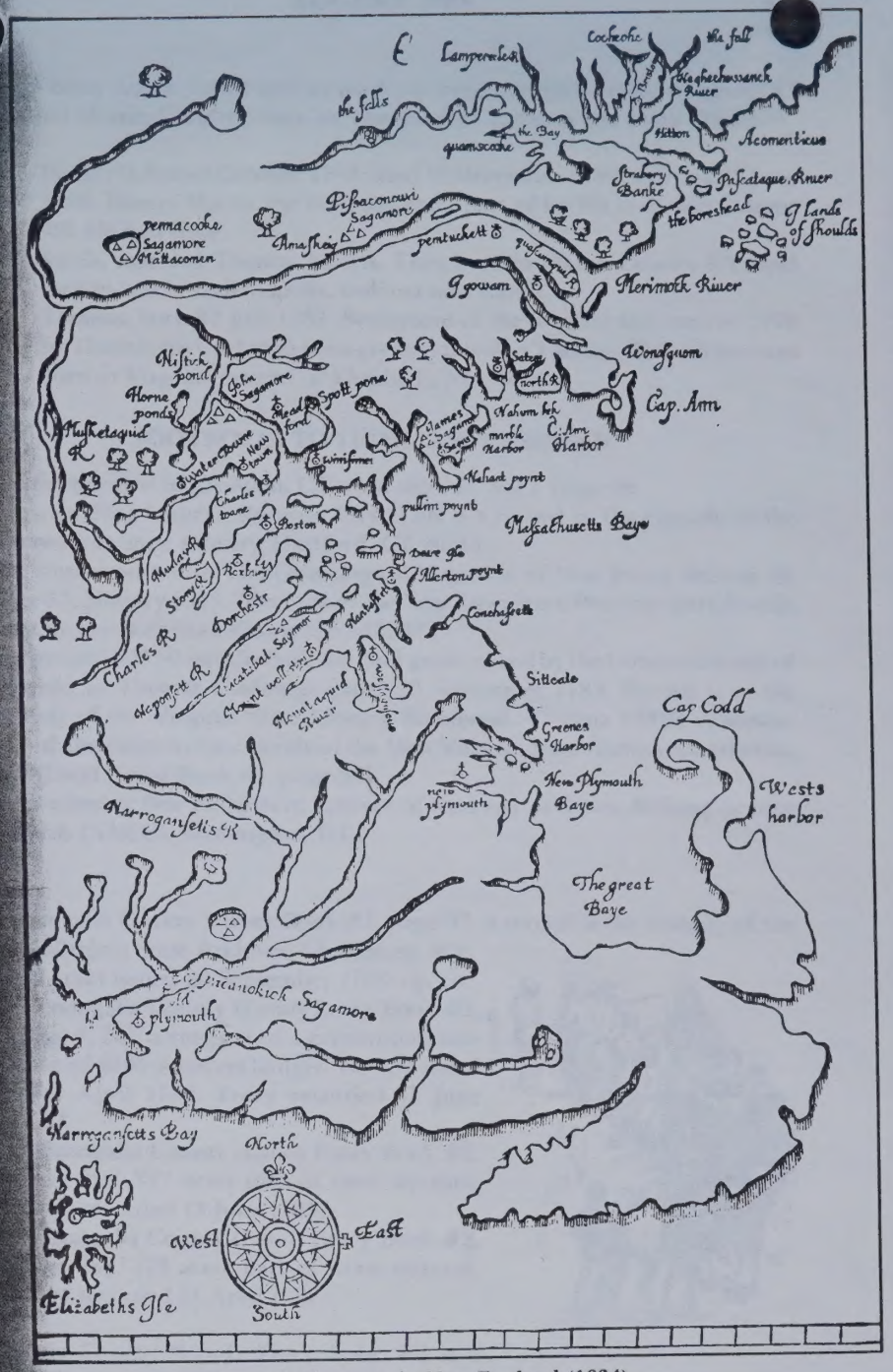
It is interesting that another similar publication of 40 years later (1674), *New England's Rarities Discovered*, by John Josselyn, was a second book that also had a rather complete explanation of the flora and fauna of the area.[2]

The illustrated 1934 map on the next page shows the rapidly expanding number of settlements between Narragansett Bay on the lower portion (south) and the *Acomenticus* near present York, Maine, in the upper portion (north) of the map. The rather inaccurate layout of the bays, inlets and rivers suggest that there was not a complete and thorough understanding of the inland area. However the map does show that there was a much greater understanding of the topography of the New England area.

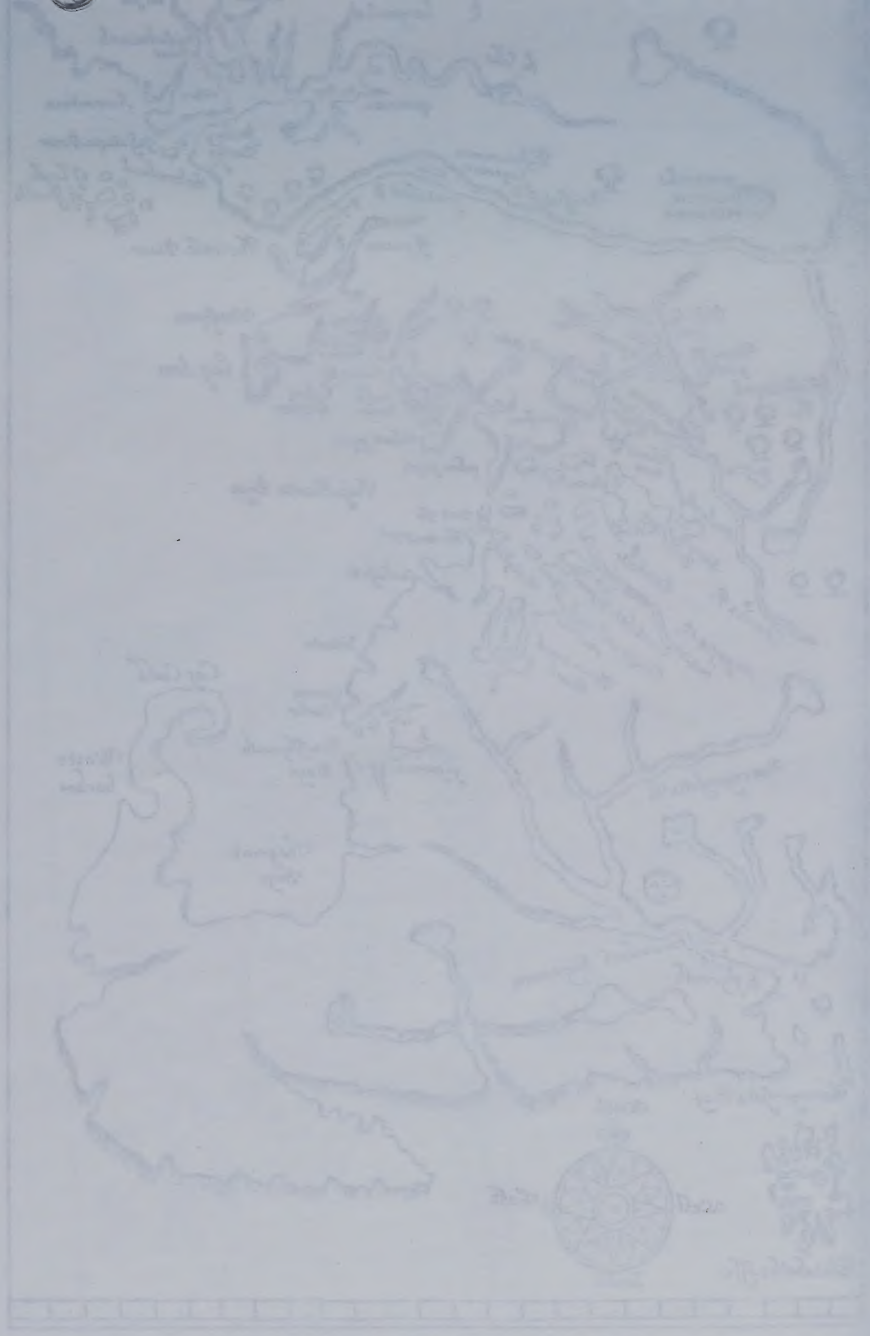


[1] *Narrative and Critical History of America*, edited by Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University and Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Volume III, Hughton, Mifflin and Company (The Riverside Press, Cambridge), Full Leather, 1884.

[2] *New England's Rarities Discovered*, by John Josselyn was republished by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1972 upon the dedication and official opening of the Henry Lee Shattuck addition to their building.



Settlements in New England (1634)



A SIXTH GENERATION MAYFLOWER DESCENDANT - THOMAS CUSHMAN

By Paul Robinson

THOMAS (6) CUSHMAN, (Thomas (5), Thomas (4), Thomas (3), Elder Thomas (2), Robert (1) Cushman of Lebanon, Connecticut and Monongalia County, Virginia was born 19 December 1739 at Lebanon, CT. Son of Thomas and Mary Cushman,[1] he was baptized 9 March 1740 at the Lebanon First Church.[2] He married Mary Frazie (Frazee) 5 January 1764 at New Providence, New Jersey.[3] He settled on lands in what is now Preston County, West Virginia in the year 1770[4] and not after the Revolutionary War as previously reported in other accounts of the Cushman genealogy. He returned to Connecticut sometime before 2 March 1777 when he enlisted in the Continental Army at Canterberry.[5] At the time of his enlistment his occupation was given as farmer; physical description as follows: height 5 feet 6 inches; dark complexion; brown eyes; brown hair.[6] He was a Private in the 2nd Regiment, Light Dragoons, Captain Epap. Bull's Troop, Colonial Elisha Sheldon, commanding. He was discharged 9 August 1780.[7] After returning to Monongalia County, Virginia, he was issued a certificate for 400 acres of land from the Commissioners for the district of Monongalia & Ohio based on his settlement thereon in 1770. This land was surveyed,[8] and a land grant was subsequently issued by the Commonwealth of Virginia.[9] There are various other claims for land entered in the Monongalia County (Land) Entry Book in the name of Thomas Cushman.[10] Mary Cushman claimed 50 acres in her own name,[11] which were surveyed,[12] and a land grant was issued.[13] It is interesting to note that no land grants for lands claimed in the Monongalia County (Land) Entry Book in the name of Thomas Cushman were ever issued,[14] although his wife Mary did receive hers. David (7) Cushman (eldest son of Thomas (6) Cushman) had his father's claim for 327 acres surveyed[15] and a land grant was issued to David Cushman "heir at law of Thomas Cushman Decd."[16]

According to family tradition, Thomas (6) Cushman was, while camping out with his father-in-law, accidently shot and killed by the latter, who in the darkness mistook him for an Indian.[17] Previous accounts place his death as sometime after 11 April 1787 (the date of the last land claim in the Monongalia County (Land) Entry Book). However, the 2 November 1785 survey[18] suggests that he died earlier than previously thought. Since no land grant was issued for those lands claimed in his name, it is possible that those claims were made by someone else in the name of Thomas Cushman for reasons unknown. If this were true, he could have died as early as 1783.[19] The widow and children of Thomas (6) Cushman had moved to Bracken County, Kentucky by 1797 as evidenced by two land transactions.[20,21] Mary Cushman had also remarried and was living in Augusta, Kentucky as Mary

Abbott.[22] Mary Abbott could neither read nor write as evidenced by her mark "X" on the deed of sale. Children born to Thomas (6) Cushman and Mary Frazee:[23]

i. David (7), born 3 October 1764; died 13 December 1839; married 22 June 1788, Dorcas Morris. He lived the latter part of his life in Mason County, KY. He had issue.

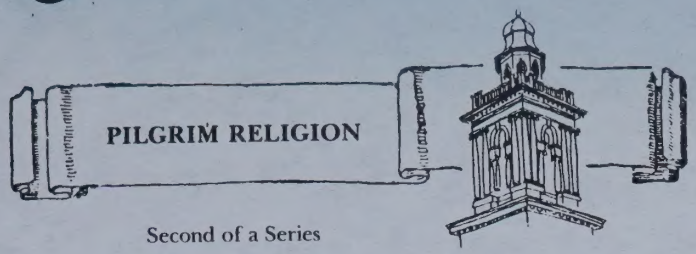
ii. Sarah, married Thomas Morris. They lived in Mason County, KY., and then to where Indianapolis, Indiana now stands.

iii. Thomas, born 31 July 1781. Settlement of the original 400 acres in 1770 by Thomas (6) Cushman strongly suggests that Thomas (7) Cushman was born in Virginia instead of Elizabeth, New Jersey.

FOOTNOTES TO THOMAS (6) CUSHMAN

1. Birth recorded in Lebanon, CT town records, Vol 1, page 49.
2. Lebanon First Church Records 4:44. This is a record in the custody of the Connecticut State Library, Hartford, CT 06115.
3. Marriage reported in The Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey, Volume 18, page 87, January 1943. "Records of the New Providence Presbyterian Church, Kept by Rev. Jonathan Elmer, 1763-1793."
4. Settlement in 1770 was the basis for land grant issued by the Commonwealth of Virginia to Thomas Cushman dated 20 September 1783. Record is in the custody of the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia 23219. A similar record also exists in the custody of the West Virginia State Auditor, Charleston, WV (Land Grant Book #1, page 38).
5. Revolutionary War Records in custody of National Archives, Military Service Records (NNCC), Washington, D.C.
6. Ibid
7. Ibid
8. Monongalia County Survey Book #1, page 97, a record in the custody of the West Virginia State Archives, Charleston, WV.
9. Land grant issued 20 September 1783, op. cit.
10. a. Monongalia County (Land) Entry Book #2, page 8, 200 acres part of a preemption warrant of 1000 acres exchanged No 189 dated 18th April 1782. Entry recorded 11 June 1783.
    b. Monongalia County (Land) Entry Book #2, page 239, 327 acres part of same warrant, entry recorded 13 June 1785.
    c. Monongalia County (Land) Entry Book #2, page 288, 173 acres part of same warrant, entry recorded 11 April 1787.

Monongalia County (Land) Entry Book #2 is a record in the custody of the West Virginia State Archives, Charleston, WV.



Second of a Series

PLYMOUTH COLONY EXCERPTS FROM RELIGIOUS HISTORY

By Norman F. Lanford

IT was shortly after this that a little group of people began to meet for worship in the village of Scrooby, in the north of England. They were mostly farmers and craftsmen from the countryside and neighboring hamlets. They were intelligent folk, but few were educated or could claim any high station in life. They had come together because they were opposed to bishops, and to the forms and ceremonies of the Church of England. They had decided to set up their own congregation and worship in their own way.

If the King was set on driving such as these out of the land, this congregation was willing to be driven. It was not that they were suffering much persecution; it was not scarcely thought worthy of attention. They had their own reasons for leaving England. They could not bear to mingle with their sinful neighbors, or remain in the same country with the Anglican Church. In 1608 they moved to Holland, going first to Amsterdam and then to Leyden where again they formed their own congregation under the leadership of John Robinson, their pastor.

But Holland proved to have its drawbacks too. There was always the danger that the Spaniards, who formerly ruled Holland, would return and subject them to the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition. But even if that did not happen, the fact remained that their children were growing up in a foreign city, out of touch with the land of their fathers, forgetting even their native language. Moreover, Holland did not, in their opinion, set a good example for Christian living; their children might too easily be tempted into evil ways. Some of the young people ran away from home to become soldiers or to sea. The congregation saw nothing to be gained by returning to England. Where, then should they go?

Across immense sea miles lay the new continent of America. Might they hope there to plant the gospel in the far places of the earth? Would there not be room in that vast territory to found the kind of Church and community in which they believed? It was a daring thought, full of unknown terrors. The water that must be crossed was deep and wide, and many had already perished in it. Savages would be awaiting them on the shore. Yet settlers from England had already braved the dangers and set up habitations in Virginia. These pioneers would not be the first to go.

Harbor of Provincetown, Cape Cod, where the Pilgrims landed.

Even so, the number of those who finally determined to leave Leyden was small. The little bark journeyed first to England, where it was joined by another group of like-minded people. In September of 1620, a company of about a hundred souls set sail from Plymouth in a ship called the Mayflower. In November the rock shore of New England was sighted, and a month later the first house was erected in the Plymouth of the New World. The Pilgrim Fathers had arrived.

During the first winter, disease struck the little settlemen whose members had been weakened by the hardships of the long sea voyage. About half their number died. Others came, however, to take their place. The pioneers had a Church that was to their liking, for it was all their own, a law to itself, a congregation separated from the wicked world left behind across the sea.

**From Fire Upon The Earth*, by Norman F. Langford, The Story of the Christian Church from Constantine to the New World, Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Copyright MCML.

It was the glory of the Separatists that they had a vision of another state of things, and struck out a new path, pronounced of course by all the lovers of the old, to be revolutionary and dangerous. Dangerous it was not, except in the sense in which liberty of every kind has its perils, but revolutionary it undoubtedly was. The Separatists broke loose by one strong effort of faith from all the restraints of antiquity and tradition. They were as revolutionary as the men who framed the Constitution of the United States. Where would the world be if it had not had from time to time men who have dared to work out revolutions?
—J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

ENGLISH ORIGINS OF THE PILGRIMS

Caroline Lewis Kardell

PERHAPS the most exciting on-going research is in the hunt for the English origins of the Mayflower passengers. Of course, the homes of many of the Pilgrims are known. The old tale that they were generally of humble origin appears to have no basis in fact. Even the much-maligned Billingtons seem to have connections to the "County" families or minor landed-gentry of Lincolnshire. In general, those we can identify and place in their English homes, seem to have been a part of the large middle-class of merchants, small-businessmen, craftsmen, and landholders.

I will give a quick run-down of known or possible places of origin and some of the sources where you might find articles of interest on these families.

Governor William Bradford was born in Austerfield, Yorkshire and lived later in Scrooby with his uncle after the deaths of his father and grandfather. (MFIP, Bradford, 1987, p. 1; TAG 46:117-118)

Elder William Brewster was probably born in Doncaster, Yorkshire and was raised in Scrooby, Nottinghamshire where is father had been appointed Receiver of Scrooby and Bailiff of the Archbishop's manor house. (FP, Brewster, Merrick, 1984, p. 1; TAG 41:1-5)

Samuel Fuller and his brother *Edward Fuller* were born in Redenhall, County Norfolk. (MF 1:49; MFIP, E. Fuller, 1987)

James Chilton was born in Canterbury, County Kent, and moved later to Sandwich, Kent. (MF 2:3; TAG 38:244-245)

Moses Fletcher was also a resident of Sandwich, Kent before going to Holland where his children later married and became Dutch citizens. (MF 2:3; MQ 41:45-47, 126-129, NEHGR 128:161-9)

Richard More was born in Shipton, Shropshire and is, so far, the only Pilgrim with a *proven* royal descent. (MF 2:121; NEHGR 114:163-168, 124:85-87)

William Mullins was from Dorking and Stoke in County Surrey. (FP, Alden, Williams, 1982, pp 4-5)

Isaac Allerton was probably from County Suffolk, residing in London. His ancestry and birthplace are unknown at this time. (FP, Allerton, Shaw, 1955, p. 4)

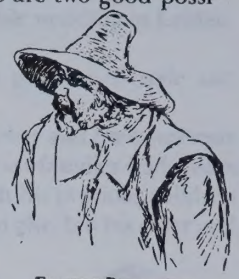
Franics Eaton was possibly from Bristol or from Sturton-le-Steeple, Nottinghamshire. (MF 1:3)

William White was possibly connected to the Whites of Sturton-le-Steeple, Nottinghamshire. Perhaps he was the nephew of Alexander White of that place. His wife was *not* a sister of Edward and Samuel Fuller. (MF 1:96)

Thomas Rogers is of unknown ancestry and birthplace, but his surname is so common in England that he is going to be difficult to identify. The alleged descent from John Rogers the Martyr has long since been disproved. (MF 2:153; wife & children, TAG 52:110-113)

George Soule has been the object of an intensive search over the years, but his ancestry and birthplace still remain unproven. (MF 3:3; NEHGR 124:121-132)

John Alden also remains of unproven identity, however, there are two good possibilities which are being explored. (TAG 53:235-240 and a probable article up-coming in the MD 1989)



FRANCIS BILLINGTON.

John Billington came from Lincolnshire, probably from the vicinity of Cowbit near Spaulding where his eldest son was named in various land documents, the last one stating that he was residing in New England. (MFIP, Billington, 1988, p. 1; NEHGR 124:116-118)

Peter Brown is possibly from Great Burstead or Billericay, Essex. All that is positively known is that he had a brother John Brown who came later to Duxbury. (MFIP, Brown, 1988; MQ 53:10-13)

Francis Cooke also has a common English name like Peter Brown and Thomas Rogers, and is, like them, very difficult to identify. His ancestry and birthplace remain unknown. Jeremy Bangs has a theory of Walloon ancestry for Francis, which may soon appear in NEHGR. (MFIP, Cooke, 1987; Cooke 4-Generations, Wood 1986)

Stephen Hopkins may have come from Wortley, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire. (MFIP, Hopkins, 1988; NEHGR 102:46; TAG 39:95-97, 170-171; MQ 51:168, 172)

Degory Priest may have been born in Hartland, Devonshire. (MFIP, Priest, 1987)

Myles Standish is probably of the Standishes of the Isle of Man. A 1984 booklet by G.V.C. Young, "Pilgrim Myles Standish: First Manx-American," may be correct. A thoughtful review of this work and another book on the Standishes, reviewed by Robert Charles Anderson, appears in the new Mayflower Descendant V. 38, No. 2, July 1988, Notes 21.

Edward Tilley, John Tilley and *Henry Sampson* are positively identified as the two Tilley brothers and the nephew-by-marriage of Edward Tilley, from the parish registers of Henlow, Bedfordshire. (TAG 52:198-208; 60:171-173)

Edward Winslow was from Droitwich, Worcestershire. His brothers came here later. (TAG 41:168-178; 42:52-55, 186-187; NEHGR 121:25-29, 122:175-178, 124:182-183)

John Howland was of Fenstanton, Huntingdonshire. His brothers came later. (Howland Gen. 18-19; TAG 14:214)

Richard Warren was a merchant of London, however, it is not known where he was born or raised. (NEHGR 55:70-78; MFIP, Warren, 1988, p. 1)

Edward Doty is of unknown origin, but since he was a servant, or apprentice, or possibly a relation to Stephen Hopkins, studying the Hopkins ancestry might lead to the solving of Doty's background. (Doty/Doten Gen., 1897, p. 12)

THE CHILDREN OF PLYMOUTH COLONY, 1623

Which of The Pilgrim Children Wrote the New England Poem?

by Oliver Stoddard Hayward

THE story of the Pilgrims has been told often, much of it coated with myth. Research over the last 35 years since Francis R. Stoddard's *Truth About The Pilgrims* has begun to give us reality. In 1963 Samuel Eliot Morison published his *History Of The Old Colony*, Knopf, and included an exasperated poem written by the children of Plymouth.

Particularly valuable for interpreting this poem have been two recent books: *Plymouth Colony* by Eugene Aubrey Stratton, 1986, Ancestry Publishing, P.O. Box 476, Salt Lake City, Utah, and *Stepping Stones* by Adelia and Robert Notson, 1987, Binford and Mort Publishing, Portland, OR 97209.

But far and away most helpful has been the splendid collection of 60,000 Pilgrim Family Group Sheets of the Folger Collection at the Mayflower Library in Oakland, California.

History provides few facts about the children. By 1623 there were fifty-two in the Colony, all but five of these grew up and were married. Amazingly these 47 had 288 children. More amazingly, before the 18th Century had dawned, these 288 children resulted in 236 marriages and Plymouth was no longer only a town. Now it could be called a colony.

The expanding nature of the settlement is shown by the fact that all but 9 of the 47 children moved out of the town of Plymouth, mostly to Duxbury, Marshfield, Middleboro, Barnstable, Eastham, Dartmouth, Sandwich, Dedham, and Scituate, many of them before the land was given names.

Only three returned to England.

Seventy-nine children had arrived in the first six ships. Most of the 30 who died were victims of the awful winter of 1620-21. Those who survived were obviously very wonderful people. Four died later in child birth. The average age of the rest was over 70 years. While they were still young, probably in the third year of the settlement, their voices were heard in a well-known poem, "New England's Annoyances."

Some fresh insight into the life at Plymouth can be achieved by this essay entered in the Cushman Competition of the California Society of Mayflower Descendants. The rules of the competition are that we tell what we admire and love about our Pilgrim ancestors.

Of all my ancestors I am most intrigued by the mysterious Degory Priest. What was he like? Was his potential as great as that of his brother-in-law, Isaac Allerton? Those two men had much more in common than their double wedding in Leiden. (See Descendants of Edward Small, 2:756-851)

A "hatter of London" and a "tailor of London"—what pictures of style and consequence their titles suggest!

They both knew enough Dutch to become citizens of Leiden and their interests were powerful enough to seek Leiden citizenship. Their two families had much closer ties than the other Pilgrim families. Isaac Allerton left his precious children in Leiden to come over on the next ship in the care of—whom else, but his sister and Degory's wife, Sarah (Allerton) (Vincent) Priest.

What a loss to the colony when Degory died in those first dreadful months of 1621! But children, particularly Sarah, 6, and Mary, 8, do recover from grief and I believe they shared a happy life growing up with the Allerton children, Bartholomew, Remember, and Mary, being their own age.

SCHOOLHOUSE AND WATCH HOUSE, 1648

Let me share a concept I have: I think all five of them worked together concocting THE POEM. Other than the well-known accounts of Plymouth Plantation in the writings of Gov. William Bradford and Gov. Edward Winslow, THE POEM seems to be the earliest account of life at Plymouth and certainly the only account of it from the viewpoint of children. The author remains unknown to this day. My guess is that a group of children created it and that my ancestor Mary Priest was the leader of the group. In my fantasy I can see all the children getting together in their brief periods of rest and relaxation and polishing the poem and then memorizing it. In footnotes I will show my "proofs" for this idea.

Internal evidence suggests the poem was written before the cattle-sharing of 1627 and that young girls had enough to do with its creation so that it truly expresses their frustrations and problems.

Cousin Mary (Allerton) Cushman was the last survivor of the Mayflower passengers (except for Peregrine White who had a privileged position in his mama). I think Mary Allerton hid the poem until the first generation had passed on and people could appreciate its humor.

Even if you don't share my fantasy perhaps you can understand why I love and admire the little Priest family.

Note: Samuel Eliot Morison published THE POEM in his *History of the Old Colony*, Knopf, 1963, having copied it from its first printing in *Massachusetts Spy*.

CHILDREN OF PLYMOUTH COLONY IN 1623 IN ORDER OF MOST-LIKELY AUTHORS OF "THE POEM"

Age in 1623	Name	Married	Child'n who married	Child'n
c.10	Mary Priest	1627-33 Phineas Pratt	6	8
c. 8	Sarah Priest	c.1630 John Coombs	3	3
c.14	Mary Warren	c.1627 Robert Bartlett	8	8
c.10	Ann Warren	1633 Thomas Little	7	9
c. 8	Sarah Warren	1634 John Cooke	5	7
10	John Cooke			
17	Constance Hopkins	1627 Nicholas Snow	11	11
15	Giles Hopkins	1639 Catharine Wheldon	7	10
5	Damaris Hopkins	1646 Jacob Cooke	8	9
4	Jacob Cooke			
15	Thomas Cushman	1636 Mary Allerton	7	8
6	Mary Allerton			
9	Richard Moore	1636 Christine Hunter	5?	8?
10	Humility Cooper	returned to England		
18-20	Henry Samson	c.1635 Ann Plummer	8	9
16	Francis Billington	1634 Christian Penn	8	11
8	John Billington	0		8
6	Elizabeth Warren	1636 Richard Church	8?	11?
4	Abigail Warren	1639 Anthony Snow	5	6
14	Joseph Rogers	c.1632 Hannah ———	8	9
16	Elizabeth Tilley	c.1624 John Howland	10	10
7	Resolved White	1640 Judith Vassall	7	8
c.14	Jane Cooke	1627 Experience Mitchell	8	8
4	Hester Cooke	1644 Richard Wright	3	6
10	Bartholomew Allerton	1630+ in England	?	?
c.10	Remember Allerton	1633 Moses Maverick	5	6
11	Love Brewster	1634 Sarah Collier	4	4
8	Wrestling Brewster	0	0	0
3	Peregrine White	1648 Sarah Bassett	6	7
3	Samuel Eaton	c.1660 Martha Billington	4	6
6	Samuel Fuller	1635 Jane Lathrop	6	9
3	Oceanus Hopkins	0	0	0
20	Priscilla Mullins	c.1622 John Alden	10	11
c.16	John Faunce	1634 Patience Morton	7	9
c. 7	William Latham	0	0	0
c.13	Moses Simmons	c.1630 Sarah ———	7	7
c.18	Fear Brewster	1626 Isaac Allerton	1	1
?	Samuel Cuthbertson	?	1	1+
6-10	Nathaniel Morton	1635 Lydia Cooper	6	8
6	Patience Morton	(see John Faunce)		
6	John Morton	c.1636 ——— Lettice	4	9
4	Sarah Morton	1644 George Bonum	3	4
0	Ephraim Morton	1644 Anne Cooper	?	?
2	Sarah Annable	1638 Henry Ewell	4+	8
0	Hannah Annable	1645 Thomas Freeman	?	2
17	Mary Bucket	c.1627 George Soule	8	9
2	Caleb Conant	0	0	0
14	Lydia Hicks	1627 Edward Bangs	10	10
12	Phebe Hicks	c.1635 George Watson	4	7
7	Samuel Hicks	1645 Lydia Doane	?	2
4	William Hilton	? Mehitable Nowell	9	9
2	Mary Hilton	? ?	?	?

Summary	Willison Estimates			
	Adults		Children	Totals
	M	F		
Mayflower	50	20	34	104
Fortune	26	4	5	35
Shallop	1	0	1	2
Anne & Little James	31	27	35	93
Mayflower II	4	2	4	10
	112	53	79	244

By 1623, Plymouth Colony contained 52 children, 5 of them never married, and there is no information on 2 others.

These children had 288 children, and 236 of them grew up and married.

Spinning Wheel Used in Making Linen Thread

Two hundred forty-four persons came to Plymouth Colony before 1626. Of these 79 were children and of the children 46 married and had families. Of those who lived through that winter and survived the assorted fatal complications of childbirth the median age at death was 72.

I have listed the children roughly in the order of likelihood that they contributed to the poem, assuming they probably worked on it in a group, would have to have been about 12-18 years old at the time and that the poem was probably written after at least several months in the new world but before the cattle arrived in "Charity" in the spring of 1624.

The most likely group can be further narrowed to exclude those who were married within the next year or so as having their major attention diverted from "inconveniences."

It is rather obviously a poem written by the girls, but very possibly some of the boys donated their expertise and moral support.

FOOTNOTES

1. Children were not allowed to be "annoyed" in those days — at least publicly.
2. Plymouth had many trees "down to the water's edge" in that first generation before the trees were sacrificed to house building, boat building and fire wood. The sandy soil of Plymouth County never produced much good grass—that's why the Pilgrims were so grateful for the hay of the salt marshes.
3. Most of us visit "Plymouth Plantation" in the summer during our vacations. The girls lived there year-round with storms and snow more than half their life.
4. This is the first convincing evidence that it was young people of the early years of the colony's life. The first generation of Pilgrims never dressed in the tall hats with belted trim that we use now when we're picturing them. For fighting, the men wore helmets. For dress a few wore tall hats without the buckles. But for everyday life men, women and children wore the MONMOUTH CAP much fancied by sailors-halfway beween the stocking cap we put on Santa Claus and the U. S. Navy watch cap of today. Only such a cap can be pulled down over the nose to protect from frostbite. Everybody knows that even on watch you can look out through the loose, slightly-stretched knitting.

NEW ENGLAND'S ANNOYANCES

Footnotes

1. *New-England's annoyances, you that would know them,*
Pray ponder these verses which briefly do show them.

2. *The place where we live is a wilderness wood,*
Where grass is much wanting that's fruitful and good;

3. *Our mountains and hills and valleys below*
Being commonly covered with ice and with snow;
And when the northwester with violence blows,

4. *Then every man pulls his cap over his nose;*
But if any's so hardy and will it withstand,
He forfeits a finger, a foot, or a hand.

5. *When the spring opens we then take the hoe,*
And make the ground ready to plant and to sow;
Our corn being planted and seed being sown,
The worms destroy much before it is grown;
And when it is growing, some spoil there is made
By birds and by squirrels that pluck up the blade;
E'en when it is grown to full corn in the ear

6. *It is often destroyed by racoons and deer.*

7. *And now our garments begin to grow thin,*
And wool is much wanted to card and to spin;
If we can get a garment to cover without,
Our other in-garments are clout upon clout;
Our clothes we brought with us are often much torn,
They need to be clouted before they are worn;
But clouting our garments they hinder us nothing,
Clouts double, are warmer than single whole clothing!

8. *If flesh be wanting to fill up our dish,*
We have carrots and pumpkins and turnips and fish;
And, when we've a mind for a delicate dish,
We repair to the clam-bank and there we catch fish.
Instead of pottage and puddings and custards and pies,
Our pumpkins and parsnips are common supplies;
We have pumpkin at morning and pumpkin at noon,
If it was not for pumpkin we should be undoon.

9. *If barley be wanting to make into malt,*
We must be contented, and think it no fault;
For we can make liquor to sweeten our lips
Of pumpkins and parsnips and walnut tree chips.

10. *Now while some are going, let others be coming,*
For while liquor's boiling it must have scumming;
But we will not blame them, for birds of a feather,
By seeking their fellows are flocking together.
But you whom the Lord intends hither to bring,
Forsake not the honey for fear of the sting;
But bring both a quiet and contented mind
And all needful blessings you surely will find.

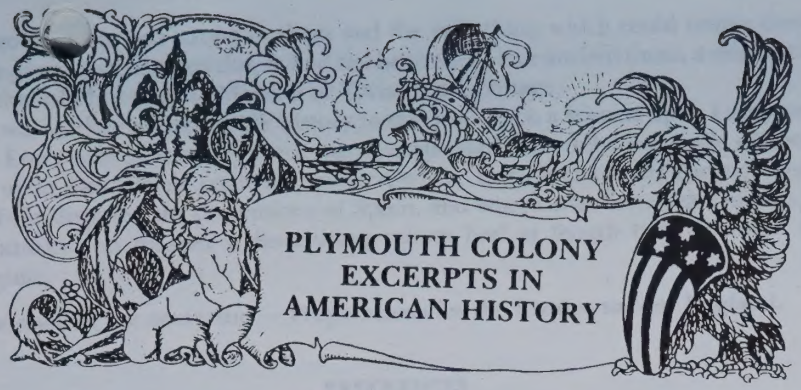
5. After the first year of "communal living" wise historians have remarked that the injection of the profit motive caused all the men to work harder at farming and all the women and children to join them with a certain enthusiasm.
6. These lines describe the contributing factors to drought that made the starvation time so acute. But we will see below that there were other resources once the Pilgrims had compromised with the famous English devotion to beef, beer, and bread,—all terribly lacking.
7. "Clout" is the old word for "patch." This was probably the most important word in little girls' vocabularies as soon as they had been taught to sew. But it didn't mean they had to like it.
8. Back to the English complaint. Unlike the people of Virginia, our Pilgrims never really died of starvation. Thanks to Samoset and (probably) the more tolerant attitude of the Dutch to substitute foods, they made do with clam and lobsters—terrible punishment for us nowadays but still not a dish for constant delight. But oh, those pumpkins—easy to grow, easy to store and so easy to identify by taste, no matter how cleverly mother disguises them.
9. Now we address the British love of beer. This was mostly suppressed in stories about Plymouth written in the 19th and 20th centuries. But we must not forget the near revolt in Plymouth's first few months when the new arrivals found they would have only fresh water springs for their drinking. Remember how Capt. Jones could get the Pilgrims to agree to most anything to get some of the Mayflower's supply of beer meant for his return voyage?
10. This stanza is difficult to understand today, so much so that many historians omit this section, particularly if we fail to realize how desperately everybody who was starting Plymouth hoped that others would come over and join them. Governor Winslow's writings will perhaps help us see what the girls were saying. Their poem hasn't listed many "needful blessings" but they would know what enthusiastic descriptions had been sent back to England. Thomas Cushman, who came over at 14 on the "Fortune" and would marry Mary Allerton 9 years later, may have contributed much to the last stanza. He was "very studious and solicitous for the peace and prosperity of the church."

The failure to mention "cattle" anywhere suggests a date before 1627 when Winslow brought over the first shipment of sheep and cows.

Notice that the poem nowhere mentions Indians. They were obviously no threat to the children. In a mild way the children probably appreciated their help and advice on planting and fishing. Splendid diplomatic work by Brewster, and particularly by Winslow and Allerton, kept the Indians near this plantation from being classified as "annoyances."

Notice also that there is not the slightest hint of giving up and returning to England. That is what makes me most proud of this ancestor. They knew they had started right and in spite of all the annoyances, they knew "all needful blessings . . . surely (we'll) find."

OLIVER HAYWARD, JR., M.D. *was educated at the Boston Latin School and Dartmouth College, Phi Beta Kappa. He later received his medical degree from Harvard College. After graduation, he was in general practice in northern New Hampshire. He served in WWII with the Navy in the Middle East. In his later career, Dr. Hayward was in cancer and heroin research at Harvard and the University of California. He is now the California State Society's amateur genealogist, librarian, and is editor of the California Mayflower. He descends from John Alden, Francis Cooke, Henry Samson, Degory Priest, and Richard Warren. Oliver Hayward's office is at 405 14th Street, Oakland, CA 94612.*



Fourth of a Series

THE CHURCH IN SCROOBY AND ITS MIGRATION TO HOLLAND 1604-1617 A.D.

By Josephus Nelson Larned

PART I

EDITOR'S NOTE:

THIS series has had a few critics in the academic community (not history professors) for using readily available text that can be found by anyone interested in the Pilgrim topic. The Editor checked the two large municipal libraries in both St. Paul and Minneapolis and did not find any of the past featured books available. Also, the University of Minnesota's library (the Nation's 10th largest) did not have half of the books, so the items are not easily accessible to the layman. The whole purpose to the series of Pilgrim historical and religious history is to inform the readers of what has been written by past generations that is seldom repeated in today's books.

THE flimsiness of Brown's moral texture prevented him from becoming the leader of the Puritan (Pilgrim) exodus to New England. That honour was reserved for William Brewster, so of a country gentleman who had for many years been postmaster at Scrooby. After King James' Hampton Court Conference with the Puritan divines, in 1604 and his threatening words to them, nonconformity began to assume among the churches more decidedly the form of secession.

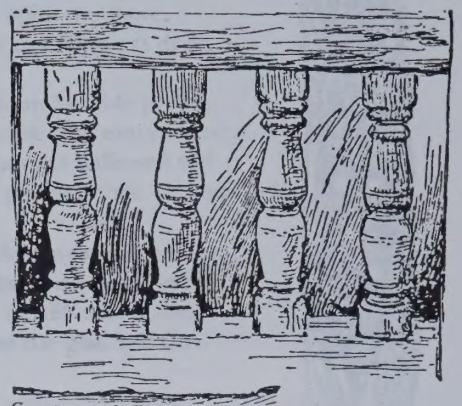
The key-note of the conflict was struck at Scrooby, staunch Puritan as he was, Brewster had not hitherto favoured the extreme measure of the Separatist. Now he withdrew from the church and gathered together a company of men and women who met on Sunday for divine service in his own drawing room at Scrooby Manor.

In organizing this independent Congregationalist society, Brewster was powerfully aided by John Robinson, a native of Lincolnshire. Robinson was then thirty years of age, and had taken his master's degree at Cambridge in 1600. He was a man of great learning and rare sweetness of temper and was moreover distinguished for a brand and tolerance habit of mind too seldom found among the Puritans of that

day. Friendly and unfriendly writers alike bear witness to his spirit of Christian charity and comparatively slight value which he attached to orthodoxy in points of doctrine; and we can hardly be wrong in supposing that the comparatively tolerant behaviour of the Plymouth colonist, whereby they were contrasted with the settlers of Massachusetts, was in some measure due to the abiding influence of the teachings of this admirable man.

Another important member of the Scrooby congregation was William Bradford, of the neighbouring village of Austerfield, then a lad of seventeen years, but already remarkable for maturity of intelligence and weight of character, afterward governor of Plymouth for nearly thirty years, he became the historian of his colony; and to his picturesque chronicle written in pure and vigourous English, we are indebted for most that we know of the migration that started from Scrooby and ended in Plymouth.

It was in 1606—two years after King James' truculent threat—that this independent church of Scrooby was organized. Another year had not elapsed before its members had suffered so much at the hands of officers of the law, that they began to think of following the example of former heritics and escaping to Holland.



Courtesy of Boston Public Library.

A Piece of the Bar Rail Before Which Pilgrims Were Tried.

After an unsuccessful attempt in the autumn of 1606, they at length succeeded a few months later in accomplishing their flight to Amsterdam, where they hoped to find a home. But here they found the English exils who had preceded them for so fiercely involved in doctrinal controversies that they decided to go further in search of peace and quiet. This decision, which was mainly ascribed to Robinson's wise counsel, served to keep the society of Pilgrims from becoming divided and scattered.

They reached Leyden in 1609, just as the Spanish government had suddenly abandoned the hopeless task of conquering the Dutch, and had granted to Holland the Twelve Years Truce. During eleven of those twelve years the occupations, their numbers increased from 300 to more than 1,000.

. . . In spite of the relief from persecution, however, the Pilgrims were not fully satisfied with their new home. The expiration of the truce with Spain might prove that this relief was only temporary; and at any rate, complete toleration did not fill the measure of their wants. Had they come to Holland as scattered bands of refugees they might have been absorbed into the Dutch population, as Hugenot refugees have been absorbed in Germany, England and America. But they had come as an organized community, and absorption into a foreign nation was something to be dreaded.

They wished to preserve their English speech and English traditions, keep up their organizations, and find some favoured spot where they might lay cornerstone of a great Christian state. The spirit of nationality was strong in them; the spirit of

self-government was strong in them and the only thing which could satisfy these feelings was such a migration as had not been seen since ancient times, a migration like that of Phokaians to Massilia or Tyrians to Carthage.

It was too late in the world's history to carry out such a scheme upon European soil. Every acre of territory there was appropriated. The only favourable outlook was upon the Atlantic coast of America, where English crusaders had now successfully disputed the pretensions of Spain, and where after forty years of disappointment and disaster a flourishing colony had at length been founded in Virginia.

Continued in the next issue — **Preparations for the Exodus to New England.**

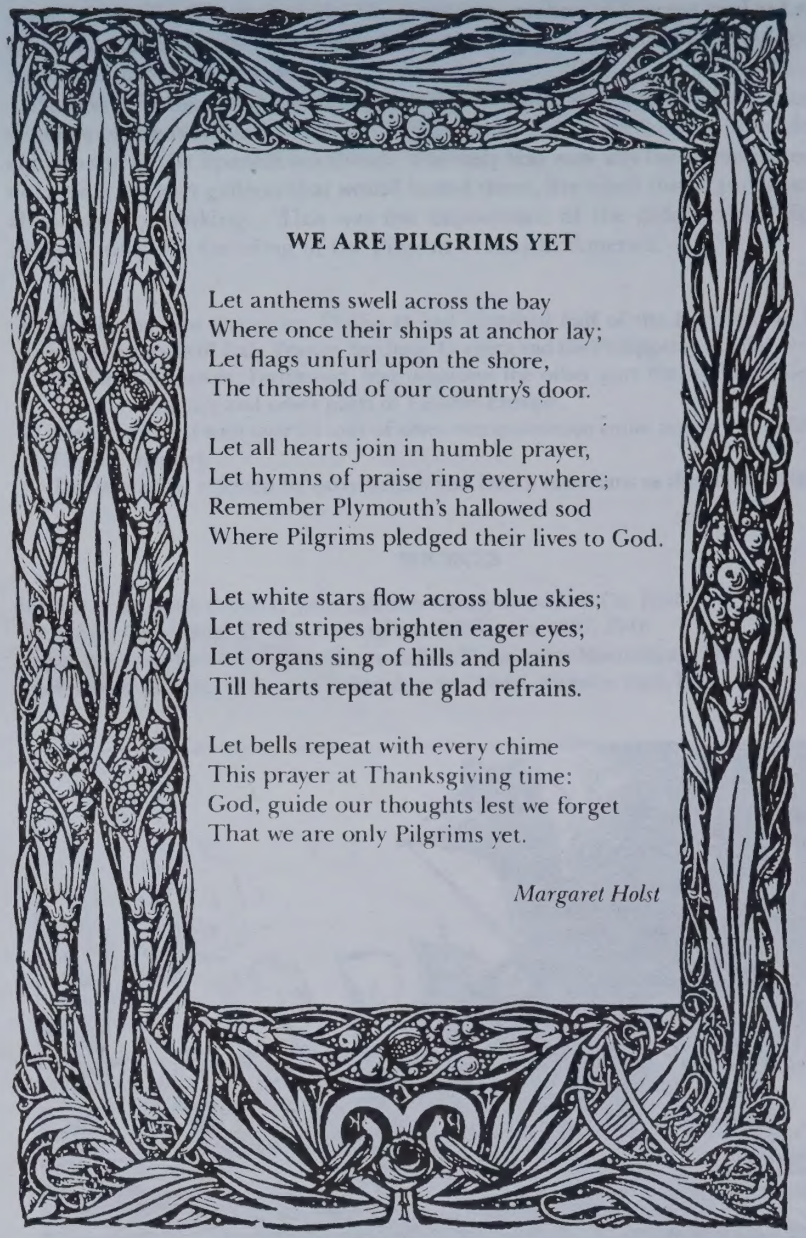
REFERENCES

John Fiske, *The Beginnings of New England*, Chapter II.
G. Punchard, *History of Congregationalism*, Vol. I, Chapters 12-15
G. Sumner, *Memoirs of the Pilgrims at Leyden*
A. Steele, *Life and Time of Brewster*, Chapters 8-14
D. Campbell, *The Puritan in Holland, England and America*, Ch. 17, (Vol. 2)

JOSEPHUS NELSON LARNED (1836-1913) Librarian of the Buffalo, New York Library, 1877-1897; Compiler of the famous *Larned's History for Ready Reference* (five Volumes) 1894 and author of other volumes on American History. From a first edition, full leather series in the Editor's Library.

The difference between men is in their principle of association. Some men classify objects by color and others by size and other accidents of appearance; others, by intrinsic likeness, or by the relation of cause and effect. The progress of the intellect is to the clearer vision of causes, which neglects surface differences. To the poet, to the philosopher, to the saint, all things are friendly and sacred, all events profitable, all days holy, all men divine.

Ralph Waldo Emerson
Essay on History



WE ARE PILGRIMS YET

Let anthems swell across the bay
Where once their ships at anchor lay;
Let flags unfurl upon the shore,
The threshold of our country's door.

Let all hearts join in humble prayer,
Let hymns of praise ring everywhere;
Remember Plymouth's hallowed sod
Where Pilgrims pledged their lives to God.

Let white stars flow across blue skies;
Let red stripes brighten eager eyes;
Let organs sing of hills and plains
Till hearts repeat the glad refrains.

Let bells repeat with every chime
This prayer at Thanksgiving time:
God, guide our thoughts lest we forget
That we are only Pilgrims yet.

Margaret Holst

From This is America - The Book of American Thanksgiving Poetry, *compiled by Gertrude Hanson and published by the Lund Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1950. Sponsored by the National Thanksgiving Association, Mrs. Bernard Druck, Founder and President.*

THE 400TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

Some may wonder why there was a trip by the Mayflower Society to witness the celebration of the defeat of the Spanish Armada. The defeat was more than a victory by England. It was a turning point in history. The following historical sketch will include some of the reasons why the event included future decisions including the Pilgrims coming to America.

UNTIL the defeat of the Spanish fleet by the British in 1588, the Spanish Armada was considered invincible on the world's oceans. Spain had been considered the most powerful nation in Europe and in the New World, and it intended to eliminate Britain as a rival in that quest. Spain had already taken control of the Netherlands through a succession of royal marriages and births. The first separatists that left England for Holland were also impressed by the religious toleration of the Dutch after their successful revolt against King Phillip II and his cruel leader, the Duke of Alba, 27 years before.

Catholic Phillip[1] of Spain had previously married Mary, Queen of England, who was childless; he then courted Queen Elizabeth, but she refused, knowing that the Roman Catholic king's wishes to conquer England by a marriage covenant was in direct conflict with the Queen's newly settled National (and Protestant) Church. In another threat, Phillip had taken reign of Portugal in 1580. Obviously, the Spanish-Portugese monopoly of all the trade routes threatened Great Britain, Holland and even France.

England had not given up, of course. There were still the daring ventures of Sir Francis Drake who circumvented the Globe, plundering the Spanish and Portugese as he went, and Thomas Cavendish, who duplicated the voyage in 1586. Queen Elizabeth publicly denounced the piracy of the Sea Dogs; however, she was giving her private approval to the raids. This was a time before any international law was even written, let alone enforced. Drake was even knighted by Elizabeth after his famous around-the-world voyage.[2]

However, it was not until the defeat of the Spanish Armada that England, Holland and France had dared to think of encouraging or allowing many extended fresh settlemens in the New World. The British sea captains, with their smaller more maneuverable ships, superior seamanship and gunnery (and the aid of a providential storm[3]), destroyed most of Phillip's fleet. Phillip, who was to humble the English with his 130 ships, 8,000 seamen, and 19,000 soldiers, was soundly defeated.

The Pilgrims, when they arrived in Holland, had been aware of the Spanish domination in the south and eastern areas of their new country. With the defeat of the Armada, however, they and their underwriters understood the Spanish yoke was broken. Even though there were the voyages of Gilbert into Newfoundland in 1583 and Raleigh's American venture in 1587, the new explorers could now safely claim part of the American venture that included Hudson to his name-sake river in 1609, the Dutch trading post on Manhattan Island in 1614and the French Colony in Quebec in 1608. All were encouraged by the defeat of the Armada's dominance.

These voyages had taught the English citizens the geography of the New World. As mentioned in the Cartography series number one (MQ, May 1987 [illegible] was Capt. John Smith's map that was available to show another choice where the Pilgrims could travel. The Dutch were also the great map-makers of Europe, and at Leyden, the University and other commercial adventures gave the needed knowledge of the open seas and the new lands.

However, the most important factor in encouraging the Pilgrim colony to come to America or the Northern parts of Virginia could have been their security after the elimination of the Spanish sea threat. The only fear now was the storm tossed seas, not an enemy gun galleon that would board them, fire upon them, and leave them abandoned or sinking. This was the importance of the defeat of the Spanish Armada with the founding of the Pilgrim Colony in America.

1. Besides the Low Countries, Phillip II had inherited half of the Holy Roman Empire including parts of Italy, France, Sardinia, Corisica and the Philippines, his father Charles the Fifth, his uncle, Ferdinand, had inherited the other part that included Germany, Austria, Hungary and other parts of Eastern Europe.
2. Drake returned with over 26 tons of silver, not to mention coins, jewels, and gold for the English treasury.
3. The storm was referred by early British and Dutch historians as the "Protestant Wind".

SOURCES

The Rise of the Dutch Republic, John Lathrop Motely Crowell & Co. 1901
The Federal Union, John D. Hicks, Houghton Mifflin Co. 1937, 1948
History of Europe by Carlton J.H. Hayes and M.W. Baldwin, Macmillan, 1949
Civilization of the West, Brinton, Christopher and Wolff, Prentice-Hall, 1964

Defeat of the Spanish Armada by the English in 1588
The huge Spanish galleons were no match for the lighter fast-sailing English ships.

SOME NEW INFORMATION ABOUT PILGRIM

PETER BROWN

by
Barbara Lambert Merrick

PETER[1] BROWN b. prob. England bef. 1600; [1] d. prob. Plymouth bet. 25 March 1633 (4 April NS)* and 10 Oct. 1633.[2]

He m. (1) Plymouth after March 1623 and bef. Feb. 1624 MARTHA (_____) FORD, [3] b. prob. England; [4] d. Plymouth aft. 22 May 1627 (1 June 1627 NS)* and bef. 1630. [5] She m. (1) _____ by whom she had John, Martha and an unnamed son. This family came to Plymouth on the ship FORTUNE, arriving 9 Nov. 1621. [6] Mr. Ford prob. died Plymouth bet. 11 Dec. 1621 and March 1623. [7]

Peter m. (2) Plymouth ca. 1630 Mary _____ [8] who was living 27 March 1634 when she was taxed or *rated for publik use in bushel of corne.* [9] She prob. died bef. 27 Oct. 1647 as there is no mention of a widow's dower in a deed of that date.** [10]

The parentage of Peter Brown remains unidentified. Possibly he was from Great Burstead, Essex, England. [11] John Brown of Duxbury was his brother [12]. As a signer of the Mayflower Compact on 11 Nov. 1620, he must have been over 21 years of age. [13]

There is no death record for Peter Brown and he died intestate. He was listed among those members of Plymouth Colony, rated *for publik use*, on 25 March 1633. [14] The inventory of his estate was dated 10 October 1633 . . . the same year in which William Bradford records *it pleased ye Lord to visite them this year with an infectious fevoure, of which many fell very sicke, and upwards of 20 persons dyed.* [15] His inventory is of particular interest as it shows a debt owed *to the Surgion for letting her man bloud* and *to Kanelm Wynslow for a Coffin.* [16]

No record of the marriages of Peter Brown has been found. Circumstantial evidence, used as a basis of reasonable deduction, is derived from the contemporary records of William Bradford combined with Plymouth Colony Records.

Bradford's *Of Plimouth Plantation* states *Peter Browne maried twise. By his first wife he had 2 children, who are living, and both of them are married, and the one of them hath 2 children; by his second wife he had two more. He dyed about 16 years since.* [17] In the 1623 Division of Land, a 4 acre allotment was granted to the widow Ford which indicates that she had not yet remarried. [18] By the time of the 1627 Division of Cattle, there is no mention of a

Widow Ford but there were two Ford children listed in the *eighth lot* with Peter and MARTHA Brown, as well as a child named Mary Brown. [19] From these facts, it is deduced that Martha Brown was the wife of Peter Brown and one and the same individual as the Widow Martha Ford.

A BIT OF OLD PLYMOUTH.

Peter Brown was listed as one of the *undertakers* or *purchasers* who agreed to assume the debts of Plymouth Colony. [20] Additional records show that he became lost in the woods with John Goodman on 22 Jan. 1621; [21] he was brought into court by Samuel Fuller the elder on 7 Jan. 1632 in order to settle a difference about accounts; [22] and also he was fined for not appearing at Court. [23].

On 28 Oct. 1633 Mary Browne, widow of Peter Browne late of New Plymouth deceased, presented an inventory of his estate. On 11 Nov. 1633 the court ordered money set aside for Peter's daughters (by his first wife) Mary Browne and Priscilla Browne, with the rest of his estate allowed to the widow to bring up her two children by Peter. [24]

The court record further explains that the Widow Mary Brown was ordered to place the daughters of Peter Browne (by his first wife) and their legacies in the care of others. Mary Browne was to live in the household of Mr. John Doane of Plymouth for a term of nine years and Priscilla Browne went into the household of Mr. William Gilson of Scituate for twelve years. [25]

On 10 Oct. 1644, Mr. John Doane, with the consent of Mary Browne, whom he had been ordered *to keepe and bring up untill shee should accomplish the age of seaventeene yeares,* delivered her legacy unto John Browne of *Duxborrow.* At the same time Mary gave her consent to the arrangement whereby he was to care for the legacy until she could marry. [26] No guardian was appointed. Might this not indicate she was at least 18 years of age in October of 1644? Her birth would have been prior to 10 October of 1626.

On 28 October 1645, at the end of her time with Mr. Gilson, Priscilla Browne came into court and she was allowed to choose John Browne, her *ynckle,* to be her guardian. [27] Being allowed to *choose* a guardian indicates that she was then between fourteen and twenty-one years of age. If her term was the same as her sister's . . . that is until her seventeenth year was completed . . . and in complete compliance with the law of Plymouth Colony, her birth must have occurred before 28 Oct. 1627.

From the original instrument placing the children of Peter Browne, it can be determined that there was at least a three year difference between the age of Mary and Priscilla (Mary was placed for 9 years until she accomplished her 17th year and Priscilla was placed for a period of twelve years). Having narrowed Priscilla's birth down to after the May 1627 Division of Cattle and before 28 Oct. 1627 from her court appearance, might one then subtract this three year difference from the latest figurable date for Priscilla's birth and determine that Mary had to have been born three years prior to 28 Oct. 1627 . . . giving her a new birth estimate of prior to 10 Oct. 1624?

BURIAL HILL.

By using this newly derived birth date for Mary Brown, the eldest daughter, a new time frame for the marriage of Peter Brown and Martha (_____) Ford should be determined as being nine months earlier . . . thus deducing it as after March 1623 but prior to Feb. 1624.

Plymouth Colony Deeds prove that the land of Peter Browne was divided into three portions. This indicates that ONLY three children survived. On 27 October 1647 and 13 Aug. 1679, Ephraim and Mary Tinkham sell their one third part. [28] William Allen sells one third part of one whole share the last of January 1649 and 15 Apr. 1669. His wife Priscilla gave her consent. [29] The final one third part was sold by William and Rebecca Snow on 25 Mar. 1667/8 and 7 Nov. 1679. [30]

Editor's Note:

As in this feature by our Historian General, any additional information about Pilgrim Peter Brown is welcome from all members of the Society and readers of the Quarterly. If you have any additional information or if you have a line with different results than published in the Four Generations, Mayflower Families in Progress (MFIP), the Society would appreciate hearing from you with your documentation.

REFERENCES

1. *Mayflower Descendant* 1:77-79 *The Mayflower Compact*
2. *Plymouth Colony Records* Shurtleff and Pulsifer 1:10 (tax list); *Mayflower Descendant* 2:115-116 (Mayflower Genealogies); *Mayflower Descendant* 1:79-82 (Inventory of Peter Browne)
3. *Plymouth Colony Records* 12:5; *Mayflower Descendant* 1:227-229 (1623 Division of Land); b. of 1st child
4. *Saints and Strangers*, George F. Willison, p. 445
5. *Plymouth Colony Records* 12:9-13; (Cattle Division); *Mayflower Descendant* 2:115-116 (with reference #2); *The American Genealogist* 42:39
6. *Planters of the Commonwealth* by Banks, p. 50-51.
7. *The American Genealogist* 42:35-42 (Winslow's Letter, with ref. #5); *Plymouth Colony Records* 12:5 (with ref. #3)
8. *The American Genealogist* 42:35-42 (with ref. #5); *Plymouth Colony Records* 1:17 (Presentation of Inventory gives her name)
9. *Plymouth Colony Records* 1:26-28 (Tax rate)
10. *Mayflower Descendant* 5:30-34 (Deeds)
11. *Planters of the Commonwealth* by Banks, p. 50 (with ref. #6)
12. *Plymouth Colony Records* 2:89 (guardianship)
13. *Mayflower Descendant* 1:77-79 (with ref. #1)
14. *Plymouth Colony Records* 1:10 (tax list) (with ref. #2)
15. *Of Plimouth Plantation* by William Bradford (1899) p. 774
16. *Mayflower Descendant* 1:79-82 (with ref. #2)
17. *Of Plimoth Plantation* p. 538 (Bradford's Mayflower Increases); *Mayflower Descendant* 1:15
18. *Plymouth Colony Records* 12:5; *Mayflower Descendant* 1:227-229 (with ref. #3)
19. *Plymouth Colony Records* 12:11 (with ref. #5)
20. *Plymouth Colony Records* 2:177 (Names of Purchasers)
21. Mourt, *Relation or Journal of the Plantation at Plymouth*, Boston (1 65)
22. *Plymouth Colony Records* 1:8 (Samuel Fuller)
23. *Plymouth Colony Records* 1:5
24. *Plymouth Colony Records* 1:17 (with ref. #8); *Plymouth Colony Records* 1:18-19 (Settlement of P.B.'s estate)
25. *Plymouth Colony Records* 1:18-19 (with ref. #24)
26. *Plymouth Colony Records* 2:76 (Mary Browne)
27. *Plymouth Colony Records* 2:89 (guardianship) (with ref. #12)
28. *Mayflower Descendant* 5:30 (Ephraim Tinkham, with ref. #10)
29. *Mayflower Descendant* 5:30-31 (William Allen, with ref. #10)
30. *Mayflower Descendant* 5:34 (William Snow, with ref. #10)
31. *Plymouth Colony Records* 12:4-5; *Mayflower Descendant* 1:227-229 (with ref. #3) and *Plymouth Colony Records* 2:76 (with ref. # 26)
32. *Plymouth Colony Records* 12:11 (with ref. #5) and *Plymouth Colony Records* 2:89 (guardianship) (with ref. #12)
33. *Plymouth Colony Records* 1:19 (with ref. #8) and *Mayflower Descendant* 5:34-35 (with ref. #10)
34. *Of Plimoth Plantation* p. 538 (with ref. #17); *Mayflower Descendant* 5:30-34 (with ref. #10)

*George Ernest Bowman changed the date to the New Style calendar.

**Did Mary m. (2) James Lendall of Duxbury (*Mayflower Descendant* 2:169) who 4 May 1653 sold 2 acres of meadow in Duxbury "which sometimes was the meddow of Peeter Brownes Children." He had wife Mary (see his will 4 March 1652—*Mayflower Descendant* 11:87—but no mention of Peter Brown children. Not Likely.)

***Peter Brown of Windsor has not been proven to be a son of Peter Brown of the Mayflower. (*The American Genealogist* 33:214-222)

****Mary Browne who m. Thomas Willet 6 July 1635 is the dau. of Peter Brown's brother John who lived in Duxbury.

THE COMPLETE INVENTORY OF PETER BROWN'S ESTATE WAS PUBLISHED IN *MAYFLOWER DESCENDANT* 1:79-82 BUT IS NOT INCLUDED HERE TO CONSERVE SPACE.

GENEALOGICAL REFLECTIONS
from the Editor's notebook

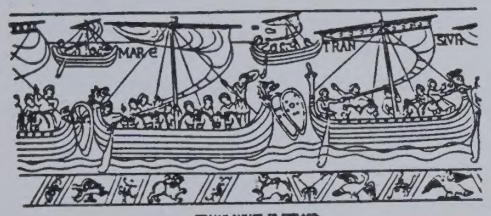
APPLYING THE LAWS OF PROBABILITY IN GENEALOGY

Second of a series

Using the *laws of probability* in genealogy make an interesting case for our relationships to past history. In the progression of ancestors beginning with 2 parents, 4 grandparents, 8 great-grandparents, we find by the 14th generation we already have 8,192 ancestors as we stated in the first of this series in February. If that progression continues, their are 1,048,476 ancestors by the 22nd generation, (the time of Henry IV's reign of England) 8,387,808 by the 25th generation, (the time of Edward V's reign in 1280) and 1,040,901,524 (Yes, over one billion) ancestors by the time of William the Conqueror in the 11th Century.

Of course, a person does not have a billion *different* ancestors as the progression eludes to, for he does have many ancestors who he descends from many, many times over; sometimes as often as 500 or more times. An example would be the small villages during the early and middle ages in Europe and England where the same gene pool was re-enforced with the villages literally having 2nd to 20th cousin marriages going on and on for generations; all related to the early progenitors of the village going back hundreds of years. The only time these patterns were changed was when the population was disturbed during times of war, strife, famine, the plague, and the sale of a Landowner's holdings to another. Also where the people became part of the Baron's larger holdings, or where a complete migration occurred as the Vikings movements into the Mediterranean, Scotland, and France.

When do these *laws of probability* go into effect when one becomes a direct descendant of most every person that ever lived or that he reads about in European history?



WILLIAM SAILING TO ENGLAND.
BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

In the ~~25~~32th generation, your more than eight million ancestors are equal to the population of Europe! Far before the ~~25~~32th generation (13th Century) with the more than one billion ancestors, the laws of probability have long been in effect, for that large number of ancestors that made up your gene profile at that time is over ten times the population of Europe!

The most revealing consequences to this startling information for most of us, is that the old histories and literature becomes alive, for it is your own flesh and blood that you are reading about. With this revelation, the words literally jump off the pages, for you are now both spiritually and physically bonded to the whole history of Mankind. One should now better understand the term, our brother's keeper or our brother's brother, for we are literally cousins to all of Western Man.

William (1st) the Conqueror

This also reveals that we all descend from the middle age and ancient kings of Europe before 1000 AD. To be conservative in the laws of probability, everyone during and before William the Conqueror is your blood relative; even King Harold and William, who opposed each other at the Battle of Hastings. This also includes all of the Royal houses of Europe, including Germany, France, and Italy. Also, the Scandinavian Countries (The Hanseatic League), Spain, Russia, and Greece.

This is documented in historical charts of the Plantagenet Line, where it shows that all of these historical people are related. One of the best charts is in a book, by Plantagenet-Harrison, titled, *History of Yorkshire*. It contains a simplified six page genealogy chart going all the way back to Odin, or Wooden, the mythological King of Asgardia, in 80 B.C. Of course, before the 4th Century, the reliability of the records in the northern countries are more debatable than the Roman lines that are part of accepted and documented history.

CHARLEMAGNE.
From a Mosaic in Rome Made in Charlemagne's Time. The letters read: "To our Lord, Carl, the King."

These *laws of probability* mean you are a direct descendant of over 20 kings of England going back to Egbert in the 6th Century; over 7 kings of France, going back to Henry II and then to Charlemagne in the 9th Century, A.D. You are a descendant of over 7 kings of Germany going back to Henry I (Fowler). You are also a direct descendant of the first Czar of Russia, Vladimir the Great; for Ann, his granddaughter, married King Henry I of France. Vladimir (d. 1015) proclaimed Christianity (Orthodox) in Russia.

It also means that you descend from the Roman line back to Constantine, who first proclaimed Christianity in the Empire. (In hoc signo vinces) One could fill pages of important persons that influenced history from most every country in Europe including the Prefects of the Roman Empire to the leaders of the early Greek Civilization.

Many people are aware of these relationships and have proven those lines and have joined such heraldry groups as the Order of Charlemagne, The Order of the Garter, the Plantagenet Society, The Magna Carte Barons, and others. The most revealing part of the *laws of probability* is that *everyone* who has some ancestry from Europe could also make this same claim, but they just may not have the interest or the proof. There are several Mayflower collateral lines that can be used to enter into one of the Plantagenet lines.

It's a fascination story, our lineage; not only to our Pilgrim Fathers, but to the whole Western (Occidental) Civilization. How many persons have continued their genealogy records back to the middle ages and earlier through one of their Pilgrim ancestors? (*Please send the Editor your information, if you desire.*)

The 2nd in a series from the Editor's speech,
Our European Ancestors.

Not to know what has been transacted in former times is to be always a child. If no use is made of the labors of past ages, the world must remain always in the infancy of knowledge.
Cicero 106-43 BC

Mayflower Quarterly 1987

GENEALOGICAL REFLECTIONS
from the Editor's notebook

HOW MANY OF YOUR NATIONALITIES ARE KNOWN TO YOU?

IN the previous article, *Applying the Laws of Probability in Genealogy*, one better understands that our roots go back to almost every nationality in Europe. We also understand that everyone, who has some European roots, descend directly from almost everyone that lived in Europe a millennium (1000 years) ago. As we had previously stated, there are over *one million* ancestors who made up your gene combination 25 generations ago, and over *one billion* by the 32nd generation, which was approximately the time of William the Conqueror in the 11th Century. (The previous article misquoted the one billion as the 25th generation; it should have read the 32nd.)

In the previous story we only referred to your ENGLISH, FRENCH, SCANDINAVIAN, GERMAN, RUSSIAN and ROMAN ancestry. There are many more nationalities that are part of your makeup, even though they are sometimes infintesimal percentages. If we pick up again with the Plantagenet line and go further back into history, beyond the year 1000 AD, we find that we also have a heritage from GREECE, for we descend from Basil II, the first ruler of the second Macedonian Empire. This lineage would also conclude the progenitors of Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey.

We are also ITALIAN, for both the German and the Plantagenet lines married into the Italian Rulers (The Lombards, the Guelphs and the Medicis) of Northern Italy.

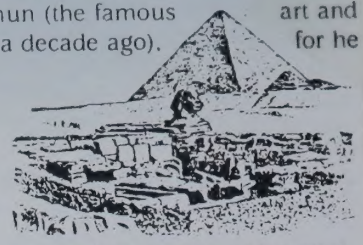
We are part SPANISH, (The Hapsburgs) for the Plantagenet, Eleanor, daughter of Edward Ist, married Ferdinand III, King of Spain (o.b. 1290), a line that dates back to El Cid, a Spanish General who kept the Caliph's army out of France and the rest of Europe by winning the famous battle of Valencia in 1094 A.D. This famous battle pushed back the Moslem invasion for a second time and saved Christianity for Spain and Southern France, if not a greater share of Europe.

MOHAMMEDAN GOLD COIN FROM SPAIN.
It reads: "Mohammed is the One Sent of Allah," and on the margin: "This Coin is Struck in El-Andalus in the Year 98" (after the Hegira).

The El Cid genealogical line takes us back into the MOORS of Africa (who were part Visigoth), for the great Caliph, according to legend, had a daughter who had a child by El Cid.

Let us digress a moment about a revelation one discovers in history and genealogy. The bitterest of enemies, (El Cid and the Caliph) soon shared the same offspring through the child from the Caliph's daughter. In this case, it was only one generation; however, it has happened throughout the history of mankind. A second example is King Harold and King William Ist. Within six generations they claim the same common descendants. In fact, it is true for everyone who has children; for eventually [within a millennium (1000 years)], you will probably share the same descendants with the offspring of your friends and neighbors!

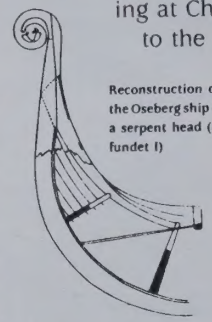
Once we are into Africa, we have acquired the heritage of the EGYPTIANS. Interestingly, we do not descend from King Tutankhamun (the famous art and antiquities exhibit that traveled America about a decade ago), for he had no children; but, we do descend from his sisters, brothers, cousins and parents. They all had lines of descent. This means we are part of that generation that lived during the history of the Sphinx and the great Cheops, as well as all other Pyramid builders. This includes not only the Pharoahs, but even the engineers and the slaves who built them.



Pyramid of Khufu, the Sphinx, and the Temple of the Sphinx.

We also descend from the PERSIANS (Iran), and the MESAPOTAMIANS (Iraq) through this same Moorish line. Unfortunately, these two related nations have been fighting each other since 600 years before Christ. (It is another case of a continuous civil war — brother against brother, for their blood lines are thousands of times more related than our infintesimal gene percentage.)

Flavious Josephus, the famous HEBREW historian, had followed the Scottish line of Kings back to Kenneth McAlpin, the first of the Celtic Kings in that country. This continued back to the earliest Hebrew lines that are part of all Scottish heritage. One story tells of Joseph of Aramathea, of New Testament times, who came to England. (See the ancient legend about the Rose Tree blooming at Christmas) Flavious' ancient history then traces the lines back to the tribes of Benjamin, Judea, and most other tribes of Israel.



Reconstruction of the prow of the Oseberg ship terminating in a serpent head (after Osebergfundet I)

We are also VIKING or SCANDINAVIAN through *another* line, besides the English Kings referred to in the previous May MQ article. If one traces William the Conqueror, who was really a transplanted Viking and whose ancestors lived in France for several hundred years, one discovers a descent from King Rollo, the first Viking leader who conquered Northern France.

Although we have this impressive heritage, of King, Noble, or Royal line, we also have over 10,000 or more ancestors that had a common grass roots heritage of the world. This mix includes merchant, galley master, soldier, statesman and slave. It even includes their spouses, lovers and concubines.

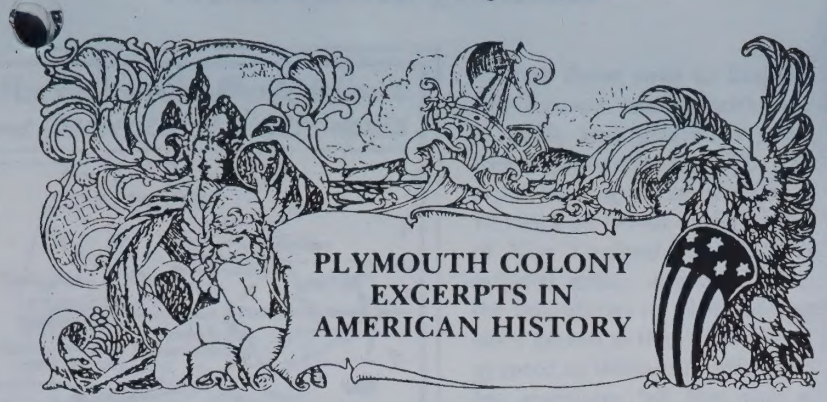
Yes, the Pilgrims, Western Man, and YOU have quite a mixed and fascinating lineage. Everyone else in the world, who has a European heritage, also shares the same ancestry. We now better understand we are more than our brother's keeper, we are our brother's brother.

From one of the Editor's several speeches on Genealogy and History.

Editor's Note: *The amount of positive mail from members and readers in this series has been overwhelming. Many of you have graciously sent your genealogies showing the lines back to the Plantagenets. Thank you, everyone, for all of your responses. After the information you have sent is compiled, it will be shared in a future issue.*

Providence conceals itself in the details of human affairs, but becomes unveiled in the generalities of history.

Alplhonse de LaMartine (1790-1869)
French Poet



Tenth of a Series

LAND ALLOTMENTS AT PLYMOUTH COLONY 1623-1629

By Joseph Nelson Larned

PART VII

IN 1623 the *Ann* and *Little James*, the former of 140 tons, and the latter of 44 tons, arrived with 60 persons to be added to the Colony, and a number of others who had come at their own charge and on their own account. The passengers in the *Ann* and the *Little James* completed the list of those who are usually called the First Comers. The *Ann* returned to England in September, carrying Mr. Winslow to negotiate with the merchants for needful supplies, and the *Little James* remained at Plymouth in the service of the company. . .

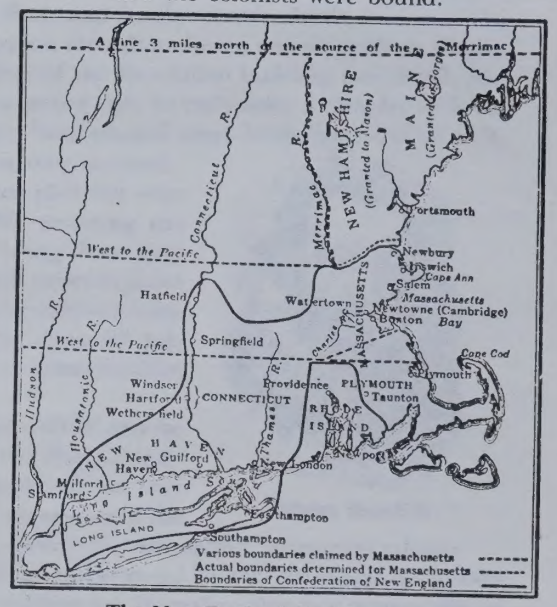
Up to that time the company had worked together on the company lands, and each sharing in the fruits of another's labors, felt little of that personal responsibility which was necessary to secure the largest returns . . . 'At length, after much debate of things, the Governor (with the advice of the cheefiest amongst them) gave way that they should set corn every man for his own particular, and in the regard trust to themselves; in all other things to go on in the general way as before. And so assigned to every family a parcel of land, according to the proportion of their number for that end. . . This had very good success; for it made all hands very industrious. . .' Such is the language of Bradford concerning a measure which was, to a certain extent, an infringement of the provisions of the contract with the adventurers.

Before the planting season of the next year, a more emphatic violation of the contract was committed. "They (the Colony) begain now highly to prise corn as more precious than silver, and those that had some to spare, begain to trade one with another for small things, by the quarte, potle, & pec &C; for money they had none, and if any had, corn was preferred before it. That they might therefore

increase their tillage to better advantage, they made suite to the Governor to have some portion of land given them for continuance, and not by yearly lotte . . . Which being well considered, their request was granted. 'And to every person was given only one acre of land, to them and theirs, as were the towne as might be, and they had no more till the 7 years were expired.' This experience gradually led the Colony in the right track, and the growing necessity for some other circulating medium than silver secured abundant harvests."

Winslow returned from England in 1624, "bringing besides a good supply '3 heifers & a bull, the first beginning of any cattle of that kind of the land.' At that time there were 180 persons in the Colony, 'some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry and thirty-two dwelling houses.' In the latter part of the year Winslow sailed again for England in the *Little James* and returned in 1625. The news he brought was discouraging to the colonists. The debt due to the adventurers was £ 1,400, and the creditors had lost confidence in their enterprise." On this intelligence, Capt. Standish was sent to England, followed next year by Mr. Allerton, "to make a composition with the adventurers," and obtain, if possible, a release from the seven years contract under which the colonists were bound.

Allerton returned in 1627, having concluded an agreement with the adventurers at London for the purchase of all their rights and interests in the plantation, for the sum of £ 1,800. The agreement was approved by the colony, and Bradford, Standish, Allerton, Winslow, Brewster, Howland, Alden and others, assumed the debt of £ 1,800, the trading privileges of the Colony being assigned to them for their security. 'In accordance with this agreement, these gentlemen at once entered vigorously into the enterprise, and carried on so extensive a trade with the natives, in the purchase of furs and other articles for export to England as within the prescribed period (six years) to pay off the entire debt and leave the Colony in the undisputed possession of their lands.



The New England Settlements

No legal tender scheme, in these later days, has been bolder in its conception, or more successful in its career, than that of the Pilgrim Fathers, which, with the skills of the shore, relieved their community from debt, and established, on a permanent basis, the wealth and prosperity of New England . . . After negotiations with the adventurers had been completed, the colonists were anxious to obtain another patent from the New England Company conferring larger powers and defining their territorial limits.

After three visits to England, Allerton was sent a fourth time, in 1629, and secured a patent dated January 13, 1629 (Old Style) and signed by the Earl of Warwick on behalf of the Council of New England enlarging the original grant, and establishing the boundaries of what has been since known as the Old Colony. It granted to William Bradford and his associates "all that part of New England in America, the tract and tracts of land that lie within or between a certain revolit or rundlett, then commonly called Coasesset, alias Conahasset, towards the north, and the river south, and the great Western ocean towards the east," and between two lines described as extending severally, from the mouth of the Naraganset mainland westward. To the utmost limits and bounds of a country or place in New England called Pokernacutt, alias Pukenakick, alias Sawaamset.

REFERENCES

1. Larned, J.N., *History For Ready Reference*, Nichols, 5 Volumes, 1895; See Volume Three, pp. 2100, 2101.
2. Davis, W.T., *Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth.*

EXCERPT FROM THE BOOK OF MARYTERS, 1563*

By John Foxe (1516-1587)

MASTER ROUGH, being at the burning of Austoo in Smithfield (England), and returning homeward again, met one Master Farrar, a merchant of Halifax, who asked him where he had been. Unto whom he answered, "I have been," saith he, "Where I would not for one of mine eyes but I had been." "Where have you been?" said Master Farrar. "Forsooth, said he, to learn the way." And so he told him he had been at the burning of Austoo, where shortly after he was burnt himself.

— Smithfield, 1557

**This book was in many seventeenth century households at the side of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and the Geneva or King James Bible as the triplex of Evangelical and Protestant truth. One gets a glimpse of the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots (Bloody Mary - 1542-1587) with these passages. This author is not to be confused with English religious leader George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends (Quakers).* — Editor

THE FIVE GENERATIONS PROJECT UPDATE

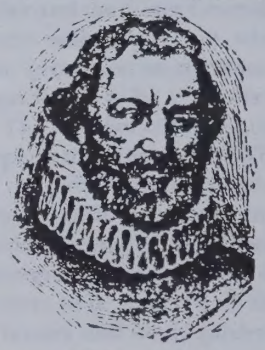
by Mrs. Robert (Edie) L. Thomas
Director of the Five Generations Project

THE STANDISH MFIP HAS BEEN EXPANDED TO FIVE GENERATIONS

A NEW Standish MFIP which includes the 5th generation is either being published or has been published when you receive this issue of the Mayflower Quarterly. We have taken this step in order to preserve the very valuable research of Russell L. Warner, as well as the additional research done by Neil D. Thompson, FASG, Robert S. Wakefield, FASG, and others. This version is also edited by Robert S. Wakefield.

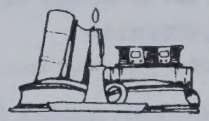
Research on the 5th generation of Standish is difficult because many descendants were pioneers in areas where records are very poor. Some of the 5th generation moved as far West as Ohio. This has required research in census records, church records, tax lists, Bible and family records, deeds, town records, graveyards, Revolutionary War pension records and even one old quilt on display at the Albion, New York, Daughters of the Revolution building (see #248, Asa Standish). It was not unusual for a young lady to embroider a sampler with the names of her parents and all of her brothers and sister, birth dates and all on it, but a quilt done in this manner is very unusual.

A number of the sixth generation children were born shortly before or after 1800, reducing the amount of research necessary to bring these lines down to the present, making it much easier to prove a line to the Mayflower. The extreme case is Hiram Bingham[6] who was born in Athen, Ohio, 22 July 1826. It is possible that his great-grandchildren could be living today.


Myles Standish

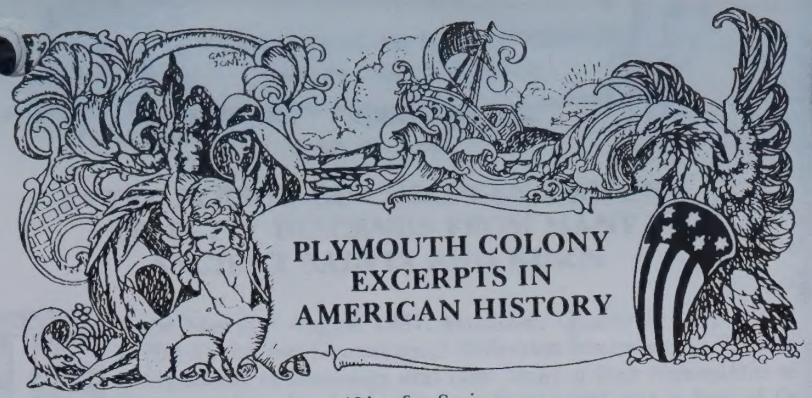
Information for ordering this new MFIP may be found on the pages dedicated to the Five Generations Project. The remaining supply of the four generation genealogy will remain on sale until the supply runs out. When ordering specify the 4th or 5th generation edition.

Once again we are most appreciative and grateful for Mr. Wakefield's dedication to our Project. He has done an excellent job in getting this fine manuscript of Russel L. Warner ready for publication. We are very fortunate to have a genealogist of his caliber working for the Project. Thank you Bob for all of the outstanding help you continually furnish us.



I find the great thing in this world is not so much where we stand, as in what direction we are moving.

Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894)
American Poet and Author



Fifth of a Series

PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXODUS OF THE PILGRIMS TO NEW ENGLAND 1617 to 1620 A.D.

By Josephus Nelson Larned

PART II

UPON their talk of removing (to the New World), sundry of the Dutch would have them go under them, and made them large offer; but an inborn love for the English nation and for their mother tongue led them to the generous purpose of recovering the protection of England by enlarging her dominions. They were restless with the desire to remove to the most northern parts of Virginia, hoping under the general government of that province to live a distinct body by themselves... To obtain the consent of the London Company, John Carver with Robert Cushman, in 1617, prepared to England. They took with them seven articles from the members of the church of Leyden, to be submitted to the Council of England for Virginia. These articles discussed the relations which, as Separatists in religion, they bore to their prince; and the adopted the theory which the admonitions of Luther and a century of persecution had developed as the common rule of plebeian sectaries on the continent of Europe. They expressed their concurrence in the creed of the Anglican church and a desire of spiritual communion with its members. Toward the king and the civil authority derived from him, including the civil authority of bishops, they promised, as they would have done to Nero and the Roman pontifex, obedience in all things, active if the thing commanded be not against God's word, or passive if it be. They denied all power to ecclesiastical bodies, unless it were given by the temporal magistrate... The London Company listened very willingly to the proposal, so that their agents found God going along with them; and, through the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys, a religious gentleman then living, a patent might once have been taken, had not the envoys desired first to consult the multitude at Leyden. On the 15th of December 1617, the Pilgrims transmitted their form request, signed by the hands of the greatest part of the congregation... The messengers of the Pilgrims, satisfied with their reception by the Virginia Company, petitioned the King for liberty of religion, to be confirmed under the King's broad seal. But here they encountered insurmountable difficulties. Even while the negotiations were pending, a Royal declaration constrained the Puritans of Lancashire to conform or leave the kingdom; and nothing more could be obtained for the wilds of America than an informal promise of neglect. On this the community relied, being advised not to entangle themselves with the bishops. If there should afterward be a purpose to wrong us, thus they communed with themselves, though we had a seal as broad as the housefloor, there would be means enough found to recall or reverse it. We must herin on God's providence. Better hopes seemed to dawn when in 1619, the London Company for Virginia elected their treasurer, Sir Edwin Sandys, whom from the first had befriended the Pilgrims. Under his presidency, so writes one of their number, that members of the company in their open court, demanded our ends of going; which being related, they said the thing was of God, and granted a large patent.

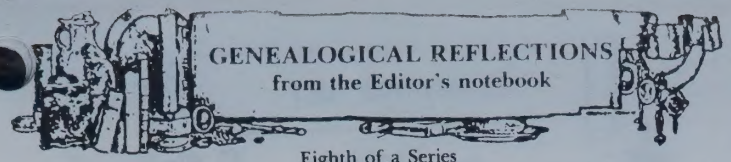
As it was taken in the name of one who failed to accompany the expedition (Mr. John Wincob), the patent was never of any service. And, besides, the Pilgrims, after investing all their own means, had not sufficient capital to execute their schemes. In this extremity, Robinson looked for aid to the Dutch. He and his people and their friends, to the number of 400 families, professed themselves well inclined to emigrate to the country on the Hudson, and to plant there a new commonwealth under the command of the stadholder and the States General. The West India Company was willing to furnish them with cattle; but when its directors petitioned the States General to promise protection to the enterprise against all violence from potentates, the request was found to be in conflict with the policy of the Dutch Republic and was refused. The members of the church of Leyden, ceasing to meddle with the Dutch or to depend too much on the Virginia Company, now trusted to their own resources and the aid of private friends. The fisheries had commended American expeditions to English merchants; and the agents from Leyden were able to form a partnership between their employers and men of business in London. The services of each emigrant were rated as a capital of £ 10, and belonged to the Company; all profits were to be reserved till the end of seven years, when the whole amount, and all houses and land, gardens and fields, were to be divided amoung the shareholders according to their respective interests. The London merchant, who risked £ 100, would receive for his money tenfold as much as the penniless laborer for his services. This arrangement threatened a seven years' check to the pecuniary prosperity of the community; yet, as it was accepted. And now, in July, 1620, the English at Leyden, trusting in God and in themselves, made ready for their departure.

Next issue, Part III — **The Exodus of the Pilgrims to New England.**

REFERENCES

Bancroft, G., *History of the United States*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter 12.

JOSEPHUS NELSON LARNED (1836-1913) *was the librarian of the Buffalo, New York Library, from 1877 to 1897. The author of the famous 19th century,* Larned's History for Ready Reference *(five volumes) was first published in 1874. The text is found under the title, Independents, in Volume III, pages 1698 through 1700.*



Eighth of a Series

EVERY PERSON OF EUROPEAN DESCENT DIRECTLY DESCENDS FROM MANY ANCIENT SAINTS AND KINGS

IN the May and August 1987, Mayflower Quarterlies (pp. 116-17 & 202-3), the two Genealogical Reflection features were *The Laws of Probability in Genealogy* and *How Many of Your Nationalities are Known to You.* In the stories we mentioned just a few of the nationalities from which we all descend including Italian, Spanish, Persian, Mesopotamian and Egyptian. The proof was based on the *Laws of Probability* as our ancestors double as we double as we go back each generation. Theoretically, we have over one million ancestors by the 22nd generation and one billion by the 32nd generation. The *Laws of Probability* become effective before the 20th generation, thus making everyone who has European ties a direct descendant of most everyone that was born before 1000 A.D. There are other fascinating conclusions from these *Laws of Probabilities* when working through the Plantagenets; that is, we all descend from a number of saints and kings in that line. Many genealogists have proven this by entering through the Plantagenets sometime during the 16th century.

TWO SAINTS FROM WHICH WE DESCEND

The first Saint is St. Margaret (1045-1093),* wife of Malcolm Canmore III, the Scottish king who was canonized in 1251. She was the grand-daughter of Edmund Ironside (980-1016). Her daughter, Matilda (1079-1118), married Henry I, uniting the Old Saxon and Norman lines which take our descent to the Saxon lines back to King Egbert (Ecgberht) (775?-839), the first recognized king of all England. Through this line, we can trace back to William the conqueror and then back to Geoffrey Plantagenet. Your ancestor, St. Margaret, is still recognized and her feast-day is celebrated on June 10th in the Roman Catholic Church and on November 16th in the Episcopal Church. She was elected a saint for her piety and concern for the poor. Her Bishop quoted, *All who waited on her, men as well as women, loved her, even while they feared her and in fearing loved her.*

A second is St. Olaf (the Thick Head or the Fat), King of Norway (995-1030) who after winning the *Battle of Nesji,* enforced the acceptance of Christianity in his domains of Norway. He was later defeated by Knut the Great and fled to Russia to join his Scandinavian cousins. These cousins were the Kings and Czars of Russia. (Russ in Russian was a Magyar word for Swede.) St. Olaf returned a year later again to confront Knut. He was defeated and killed at the *Battle of Stiklestad* in 1030. His brutality, over time, was forgotten and he became a venerated leader by the Scandinavian church. After the legends spread, he was recognized as the founder of Christianity in his country; he was then canonized by Rome in 1164. As late as 1847, King Oscar I, King of Sweden and Norway, founded The Norwegian Order of Knighthood of St. Olaf, in memory of the Saint. His Feast Day is still honored on July 29th in the Roman church.

*Margaret's father-in-law, Duncan, is the same Duncan in Shakespeare's Hamlet. Shakespeare mentions they are kinsmen; more specifically, they are 2nd cousins once-removed.
The Editor

In England, we descend from over 25 kings, going back from Henry III (1216-1272) to Egbert (775?-839). King Egbert was the first to organize the loose confederation of the Mercians, Kentish, Jutes, and both the East and West Saxons; thus, he is listed as the first King of England. Our roots also go back to the Germans (Goths) through Egbert, who was a blend of the Saxon and Angles tribes that arrived in 450 and in 465 A.D. Of course, because of oral historic traditions, these relationships were never recorded.

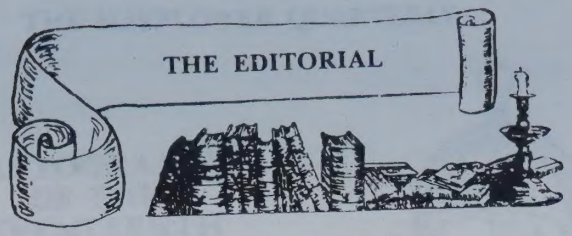
For those who have never before heard this information, you now will have a better understanding and grasp of early English history. When you know that the persons you read about in this time-frame are your true ancestors, the history becomes more alive and meaningful. There can also be a wisdom and deeper understanding that comes with this knowledge.

25 ENGLISH KINGS (823-1272 A.D.)

Generation from Egbert	Name	Approximate Reign
	ENGLISH/SAXON KINGS	
1	*Egbert*	828
2	*Ethelwulf*	857
3	*Ethelbald*	860
3	*Ethelbert*	866
3	*Ethelred I*	872
3	*Alfred the Great*	901
4	*Edward the Elder*	925
5	*Edmund*	946
6	*Edgar*	975
7	*Edward the Martyr*	979
7	*Ethelred II the Unready*	1016
8	*Edmund Ironside*	1017
	ENGLISH/DANISH KINGS	
	Canute	1035
	Harold I Harefoot	1040
	Hardicanute	1042
	Edward the Confessor	
	Harold II	1066
	ENGLISH/NORMAN KINGS	
	William the First — *22nd descent from Alaric, defeated Rome, 410*	1089
11	*William II* — *Brother of Henry I*	1100
11	*Henry I* — *Married daughter of St. Margaret*	1135
12	*Stephen* — *Grandson of William I*	1154
	ENGLISH/PLANTAGENET KINGS	
13	*Henry II* — *Grandson of Henry I*	1189
14	*Richard I, de Cour* — *Brother of John*	1199
14	*John* — *Signed the Magna Carta, 1215*	1216
15	*Henry III* — *Grandson of Henry II*	1272

All of the ancient English manuscripts of Richard of Chichester, Ninius, Alfred the Great, the Venerable Beda and Geoffrey of Monmouth now seem to become most important. All of those MMS contain genealogies of the principles just as the New Testament first book of Matthew. Matthew opens with the first 17 lines telling of the genealogy of Jesus. The style had not changed since the writing of the Bible; the ancient authors were still establishing the credentials of the Protagonists as Matthew had with Jesus. Matthew was deeply aware of the accepted style of the day since the Old Testament books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Joshua, Judges, Deuteronomy, Kings and Judges were also filled with family and tribal genealogy.

KEY: *The first column in chart one represents the generations removed from Egbert. The numbers are sometimes the same because the succession passed through either brothers or cousins. Below, there are several interesting statements about the relationships of the Norman and Plantagenet kings to each other or to the ancient Roman rulers.*



WHERE WAS THE FIRST PERMANENT COLONY IN AMERICA?

Permanent (Pur'-ma-nent) Adj. 1. existing perpetually; everlasting. 2. intended to exist or function for a long, indefinite period without regard to unforseeable conditions; a permanent construction; a permanent employee; the permanent headquarters of the United Nations...
Syn. 1. stable, invariable, constant. —Ant. 1. temporary/inconstant.
The Random House Dictionary of the English Language
The Unabridged Edition, Copyright 1967, Random House, Inc.

WHEN the Editor received notice of an error in a 1988 Mayflower Quarterly stating that Plymouth Colony was the first permanent colony in the United States, he first realized he was wrong. There was a grave error in the statement. However, with further reading and research in trying to determine which of the six colonies qualified as the true first permanent colony, the Editor was convinced that there was another side to the issue. Plymouth actually fairs much better than the five other settlement claims.

We have read the meaning of the word, permanent, and should now look at the evidence and decide which of the following earliest colonies in America would best be described as the first permanent colony from Europe in America.

1. THE VINLAND COLONY, FOUNDED 1004 A.D.
This is known as the first, but not permanent colony in America. Thorfinn Karlsefni (980-?) and relatives of Leif Ericsson settled on the coast of Newfoundland or the St. Lawrence River in the year 1004 A.D. There were many voyages to America from Greenland and the first known American white child, Snorri Thorfinnson, was born on our shores in 1004/5. However, there was no permanent colony; they left after battles with the natives.

2. ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA, FOUNDED 1565 A.D.
This colony, settled by the Spaniard, Pedro Menendex de Aviles, was burned in 1586 by Sir Francis Drake, thus leaving the permanent town in ruins. In 1665 the town was again destroyed by Captain John Davis, an English freebooter (pirate or buccaneer). In 1702, South Carolina Governor James Moore captured the town (not the fort) and established another new government. General Oglethorpe also led expeditions and captured St. Augustine in 1742. In 1763, the government was again changed when the area was ceded to England. In 1783 the town ceded back to Spain, and another government took hold. Finally in 1861, a United States garrison compelled the government to evacuate, and in 1862 the fort was captured without bloodshed. Some of the Spanish inhabitants did stay. However, when a settlement is permanent, it must have a sovereign government. This colony had five different governments, two that twice destroyed the town. Does that make the Spanish colony permanent? Absolutely not, although the St. Augustine Chamber of Commerce information may disagree.

3. THE POPHAM COLONY, FOUNDED 1607 A.D.
After sailing in two vessels from Plymouth, George Popham (1550-1608) settled the shore of a Kennebec River estuary with 120 men. He erected a small fort and store house, named Fort Saint George. However, the colony was abandoned after Popham's death and the fear of the following winter. Everyone returned to England.

4. JAMESTOWN COLONY, FOUNDED 1609 A.D.
The Encyclopedia Americana lists the Colony as a FORMER village in what is now James City country, Virginia. The description continues — the settlement was in a low marshy district which proved to be unhealthy; it was accidentally burned down in 1608 and was again almost completely destroyed by Nathaniel Bacon in 1676. The State House and other buildings were again burned in 1698, and the government of Virginia MOVED to the Middle Plantations (now Williamsburg) in 1699. The old location rapidly fell into decay. By the middle of the 19th century, the peninsula on which Jamestown had been situated had become an island, and by 1900 the James river had worn away the shore but hardly touched the territory of New Towne. Yes, the town continued after it was moved, but technically, if a colony has been moved to a new site several miles away, it should not be called a permanent colony.


Ruins of Jamestown.

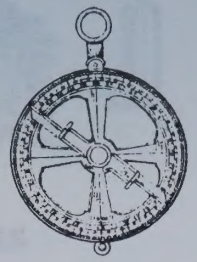
5. SANTE FE, NEW MEXICO, 1610 A.D.
The settlement was founded by Pedro de Peralta, the third Spanish governor of the province of New Mexico. Seven years later, the colony was composed of the aboriginal Indians with only 48 Spanish soldiers and settlers. After an insurrection in 1608 when the aboriginals were defeated, the colony was destroyed and abandoned. The Indians held the city until it was again captured by the Spanish Governor, Diego de Vargas, in 1692. This second founding was seventy-two years after Plymouth Colony's founding. Santa Fe also was not a continuous permanent colony.

6. PLYMOUTH COLONY, 1620 A.D.
In retrospect and reading the history of the other Colonies, we can state that Plymouth Colony is the first permanent colony under a permanent government that has stayed in the same permanent location and has not had its permanent buildings destroyed by war, insurrection, or capture by a foreign power in the United States. That is what the Editor would describe as a true permanent colony. Also the descendants of the original founders still live in the area. At least all of this should quality Plymouth as the first continuous, permanent colony. Still, the two descriptive adjectives are still redundant according to the above dictionary excerpt, but the latter version should now help qualify Plymouth Colony's unique status to the skeptics. At least there are two sides. Should we inform the professional historians? Maybe we've all been hoodwinked over all of these 300 years. Plymouth Colony should finally be recognized as the first permanent colony in America.

ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA AND ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA are the major sources. The Editoral Section does not reflect any policy or position of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants.

CARTOGRAPHY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(Fourth in a Series)



Seventeenth Century Astrolobe
(Third Illustrated Design)

PRINCE Henry (Henrique) of Portugal (1394-1460)* did not have the advantage of the new generation of sixteenth century maps that included adequate information of the New World. Most of the maps of Henry's time were much like the globe printed in 1492 by the German scientist, Martin Behaim. This map did not show any of the Americas let alone the name since it was not yet to be adopted until after the New World exploring of Amerigo Vespucci in 1503. In seeing this map, it is understandable why Columbus thought he had possibly reached Asia to claim it for Spain. Nevertheless, Prince Henry was instrumental in establishing a large colonial empire for Portugal. This was because of his School of Navigation where he spent a lifetime directing voyages of discovery from Africa to Asia. These voyages later led to the circumnavigation of Africa by Diaz and the sailing to Calicut in India by Vasco da Gama.

The new map on the opposite page was based on the 1515 map by another German artist, Johannes Schoner. Only twenty-five years later, this newer and more accurate North America version was printed. The map was from Muster's 1540 Edition of Ptolemy. Note how the upper part, Francisca, gives somewhat a vague concept of the North American coast.

Simplified Version of Behaim's Globe, 1492, from the Collection of Warren Clifton Shearman

By this time Balboa had discovered the Isthmus of Panama and the Pacific in 1513; Ponce de Leon, Florida in 1521; Cortez, Mexico in 1527; Pizarro, Peru in 1532; and de Soto, the Mississippi in 1541; and Coronado, the American Southwest in 1540. Spain as well as Portugal dominated this area.

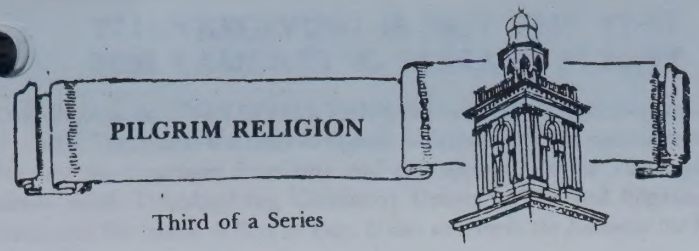
French explorations and claims before the 1540 map included Verrazano from Carolina to Newfoundland in 1524 and Cartier, the St. Lawrence River in 1529.

The English had Cabot Sr. voyage of 1498, Cabot Jr. voyage of 1509, Frobisher's voyage in 1576/8 and Hakluyt's voyage to the North American coast in 1582. However, the Elizabethan Age brought another great spirit of expansion and exploration to England. The Dutch were also caught up with the same Renaissance spirit of exploration. The English and the Dutch began to turn out many detailed maps of the New World by the end of the 16th century, often based on previous maps as the illustrated 1540 edition.

**Prince Henry was also called Henry the Navigator and was a grandson of Edward III of England and a son of King John of Portugal.*

This information was also available to the Pilgrims, especially Elder Brewster who had an adequate education at Cambridge. He had traveled with the Government and had become a printer in Holland where he was surely exposed to the map making and printing techniques of the Dutch in and around the University of Leyden. Maps like this were a constant reminder to the monarchies, the merchant adventurers and the populace of the economic opportunities for settlement in the New World. The Jamestown Colony of 1608 and Captain John Smith's famous 1616 map (see MQ, Aug 1987, p. 179), 76 years after the Ptolemy Map, were a further reinforcement of knowing the new land across the ocean.

Johannes Schoner Map of America - 1540



Third of a Series

THE PILGRIM FATHERS

By Ellen G. White

AT the opening of the seventeenth century the Monarch who had just ascended to the throne of England declared his determination to make the Separatists *conform or...harry them out of the land, or else worse.*[1] Hunted, persecuted and imprisoned, they could discern in the future no promise of better days, and many yielded in the conviction that for such as should serve God according to the dictates of their conscience. England was ceasing forever to be a habitable place.[2]

Some at least determined to seek refuge in Holland. Difficulties, loses and imprisonment were encountered. Their purposes were thwarted, and they were betrayed into the hands of their enemies. But steadfast perseverance finally conquered, and they found shelter on the friendly shores of the Dutch Republic.

In their flight they had left their houses, their goods, and their means of livelihood. They were strangers in a strange land, among a people of different language and customs. They were forced to resort to new and untried occupations to earn their bread. Middle-aged men, who had spent their lives in tilling the soil, had now to learn mechanical trades. But they cheerfully accepted the situation and lost no time in idleness or repining. Though often pinched with poverty, they thanked God for the blessings which were still granted to them and for their joy in unmolested spiritual communion. They knew they were Pilgrims, and looked not much upon those things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, there dearest country, and quieted their spirits.[3]

In the midst of exile and hardship their love and faith waxed strong. They trusted the Lord's promises, and He did not fail them in time of need. His angels were by their side to encourage and support them. And when God had seemed pointing them across the sea, to a land where they might found for themselves a state, and leave to their children the precious heritage of religious liberty, they went forward, without shrinking, in the path of providence.

REFERENCES

1. Bancroft, George, *History of the United States of America,* Part I, Chapter 12, paragraph 6.
2. Palfrey, *History of New England,* Chapter 3, Paragraph 43.
3. Bancroft, George, Ibid., Part I, Chapter 12, Paragraph 15.

*An excerpt from the Great Controversy by Ellen G. White, 1950. Chapter 16, The Pilgrim Fathers. Originally copyrighted in 1880 and in continuous print since that time with renewals in 1907 and 1911.

Because the prolific author, Ellen White, did not conform to the academic practices of the day and used a religious heritage as her theme, her biography is not included in any of the standard reference material. However, she did reference her work with the early historians of America. Today, her many books are published by the Religious Press. (Her book on health and diet had many of the newest dietary recommendations that are taught today.) She was of Seventh Day Adventist faith.

George Bancroft, the author that is Mrs. White's basic resource, was the famous 19th century historian, politician and diplomat who wrote a ten volume History of the United States. The series was the first comprehensive history of the Nation and took over 40 years to complete. He was born in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1800. His father, Aaron Bancroft, was a distinguished Congregational clergyman. Dr. George Bancroft was educated at Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N.H. and Harvard where he briefly prepared for the ministry.

As an historian, George Bancroft's background gave him an intuitive philosophy as to the faith of mankind's perfectability; he also enters the theme of God's providence into his writings. However, his writings are opposed by the more scientific and newer (not always better) historical interpretations as written by Hegel, Beard, Robinson, Hofstatter or Popper. Bancroft was the first historian to understand and recognize the importance of Colonial History and the frontier in America.* Later historians added the economic and social factors into America's history that were not prevalent in his writings.

New Amsterdam in the 17th Century
After Van der Donck's (1620-1655) painting, New Netherland

*George Bancroft could be credited as the catalyst for the Frontier theory of Fredrick Jackson Turner. Turner also wrote about the concept of the Western state-making in the Revolutionary era as being similar to the Western waters by the Pilgrims. In this theory, the unsurveyed and unchartered land was claimed outside the recognized legal limits and to abide by the common will of the people, similar to the Pilgrims abiding in God's will in their land claims. It is interesting that the Watauga Compact of 1772 was compared to the Mayflower Compact by Turner because it protected the pioneers when they encroached on Indian territory according to the treaties of 1768. The editor believes a Puritan comparison would have been better than with the Pilgrims.

Turner, F.J., *Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era,* American Historical Review, 1895-96, pp. 70, 251.
Merk, Frederick, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History,* 1963, Alfred Knopf & Random House

THANKSGIVING IS NOT THE TIME FOR LAMENTING INDIANS PLIGHT

A reprint from the TWIN CITIES TRIBUNE (circulation 600,000), on December 17, 1988. This article is a reply in Opinion-Editorial *of two news stories that were sent over the Associated Press wire and that appeared in the Thanksgiving Day edition called,* Thanksgiving Ceremony Unites Indian and Pilgrim Descendants, *and* For Some A Day of Fast. *It was written by the Editor of the Mayflower Quarterly.*

WE are all aware that the sins of the children should not always be blamed on the Fathers, but a new aphorism has been incorrectly perpetrated in several recent news stories calling for not only the sins of the Fathers, but blaming their children as well.

I refer to the two news stories in the November 24th Thanksgiving edition about an Ojibwa Indian leader who was fasting on Thanksgiving because of the inhumanity of the white European settlers to the indigenous people of North America.

Fasting is a noble and sacrificial act of protest for the inhumanity of man against man, but the Ojibwa group was protesting on the wrong day.

Rather than the first Thanksgiving in 1621, the outbreak of King Philip's War or a myriad of other dates that settlers and the U.S. Army, in the 18th or 19th centuries mark U.S. transgressions against America's indigenous tribes. A few of those shameful events we are not proud of are the Trail of Tears, the Oklahoma incursions and the Blackhawk War.

However, to lament the landing of the peaceful Pilgrims is historically inappropriate and shows that their tribal histories are also filled with myth as are some accounts in official American histories.

The Pilgrim Fathers were even dependent upon the Wampanoag and Wawenock Indian tribes at Cape Cod and were thankful for their instructions in agriculture, hunting and edible plants that helped the Pilgrims through the first harvest season. As a result of this cooperation, there was no large scale hostility with the tribes for over 50 years.

Later in the 17th century, the Puritans of Boston and other New England settlers were involved in the King Philip's War. King Philip, the Wampanoag chief, was denied of a proper settlement because of the constant flow of hundreds of settlers into his territory. Likewise, the settlers did not understand and disgarded treaty agreements as they moved westward. However, this was now another (third) generation of New Englanders, not the initial two generations of Pilgrims that befriended the Indians.

Too often, a generation of peacemakers is blamed for the next one or two generation's sins. During WWI and WWII the German-American population was often discriminated against. Another example is the incarceration of the Japanese-Americans after Pearl Harbor, in which our government tragically and unjustly confused our own citizens with those who were responsible for the new Pacific war.

With this better understanding of the peaceful cooperation of the Pilgrims and America's indigenous inhabitants for over five decades, let us not incorrectly turn our oldest and most cherished national holiday of Thanksgiving into a day of protest against the wrong people. The day of protest for the wrongs committed should be at another time.

DON'T BLAME THE PILGRIMS FOR THE ANTI-INDIAN SINS OF THE PURITANS

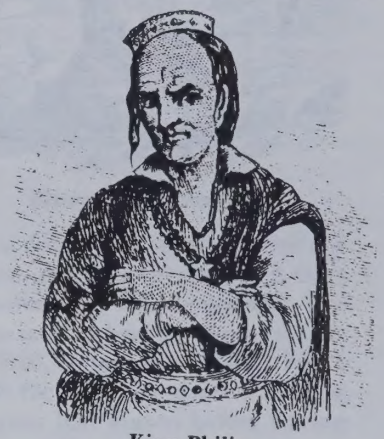
A reprint from the NEW YORK TIMES (circulation 1,623,000), December 25, 1988. This article is a reply in Opinion-Editorial *of a news story that appeared in the Thanksgiving edition called,* For the Indians, No Thanksgiving. *It was written by Mr. Robert Lord, a publishing consultant and member of the New York Mayflower Society and a resident of that city.*

IN the Opinion-Editorial piece on Thanksgiving Day, your writer indulges in the popular sport of Pilgrim-bashing. This is easy if one sufficiently distorts history and readers are not aware of the facts.

Who can quarrel with (the writer's) conclusion that the Indian fared ill because of the coming of the white man? Of course he did. But this does not give the author (a professor at Dartmouth College) the right to rewrite Pilgrim history. He says there was "a scattering of shirtless Indian invitees" at the first Thanksgiving dinner in 1621. Actually, there were 90 hungry braves. There were a dozen white women and girls from infant to oldest to cook for 41 settlers and the 90 Indians. Some Indians did go out and shoot five deer. But the Indians stayed, eating for three days.

Of the Thanksgiving dinner he says, "there is no ambiguity as to who is in charge of the occasion, who could be asked to leave (and) whose protocol prevails." Come now, with such numbers, even (the writer) knows better than to say something like that.

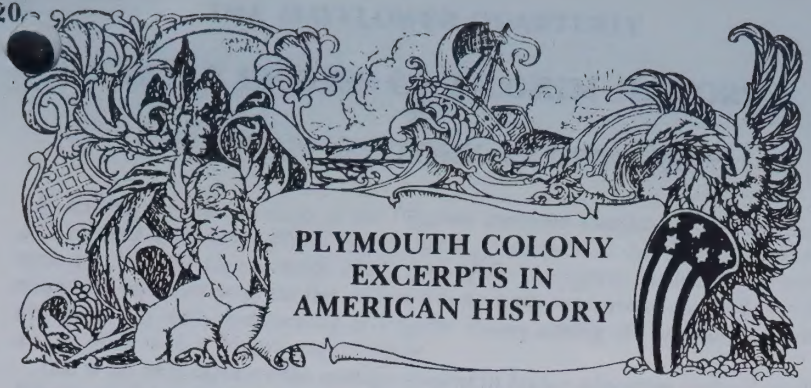
He says this dinner was "the last meeting as equals with invaders who, within a few years, would win King Philip's War." Just a minute. The Pilgrims remained on good terms with the Indian for many years after 1621. The Bay Colony (Boston), settled by the much more numerous Puritans, eventually absorbed the much smaller Plymouth settlement. It was the Puritans who put major pressure on the Indians. (No matter how many times people say the Pilgrims and the Puritans were the same, they were not. Puritans were much more anti-Indian.)



King Philip.

The causes of King Philip's War are too complicated to go into here, but to blame the Pilgrims for it is a travesty. Incidentally, the first Thanksgiving was in 1621 (not 1620). King Philip's War, in which the losses on both sides were very heavy, began in 1675. Is this really only a few years later?

You (the New York Times) could have commemorated Thanksgiving far more suitably by highlighting the brotherhood of white man and Indian exemplified by that day in 1621, which continued for many years, and suggested ways in which present day Indians could be helped to enjoy 20th-century advantages while maintaining their valuable native culture.



Sixth of a Series

THE EXODUS OF THE PILGRIMS TO NEW ENGLAND

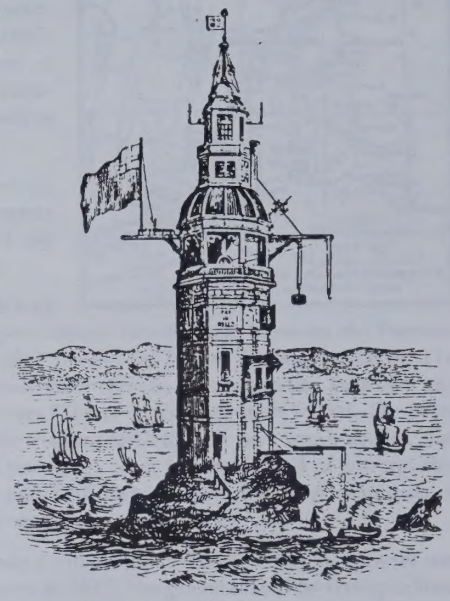
By Joseph Nelson Larned

PART III

THE congregation of John Robinson, at Leyden, having after long efforts, procured from the London Company for Virginia a patent or grant of land which proved useless to them, and having closed a hard bargain with certain merchants of London who supplied to some limited extent the means necessary for the emigration and settlement were prepared in the summer of 1620, to send forth the first Pilgrims from their community, across the ocean, seeking freedoms in the worship across the ocean, seeking freedom in the ocean, seeking freedom in the worship of God.[1] The means at command provided only for sending a portion of the company; and those that stayed, being a greater number, required the pastor to stay with them, while Elder Brewster accompanied, in the pastor's stead, the almost as numerous minority who were to constitute a church by themselves; and in every church, by Robinson's theories, the governing Elder next in rank to the pastor and the teacher, must be apt to teach. The small ship, the Speedwell, of some 60 tons burden, was bought and fitted out of Holland, and early in July those who were ready for the formidable voyage, being the youngest and strongest part, left Leyden for embarkation at Delft Haven nearly 50 miles to the southward — sad at the parting but says Bradford, "They knew that they were Pilgrims." About the middle of the second week of the month the vessel sailed for Southhampton, England. On the arrival there they found the Mayflower, a ship of about 190 tons burden, which had been hired in London, awaiting them with their fellow passengers partly laborers employed by the merchants partly Englishmen like-minded with themselves, who were disposed to join the Colony. Mr. Weston, also was there, to represent the merchants; but when discussion arose about the terms of the contract, he went off in anger, leaving the contract unsigned, and the arrangements so incomplete that the Pilgrims were forced to dispose of sixty pounds worth of their not abundant stock of provisions to meet absolutely necessary charges.

The ships, with perhaps 120 passengers, put to sea about August 5/15 [illegible] h hopes of the Colony being well settled before winter, but the Speedwell was [illegible] on pronounced too leaky to proceed without being overhauled, and so both ships put in at Dartmouth, after eight days' sail. Repairs were made, and before the end of another week they started again; but when about a hundred leagues beyond Land's End, Reynolds, the master of the Speedwell declared her in imminent danger of sinking, so that both ships again put about. On reaching Plymouth Harbor it was decided to abandon the smaller vessel, and thus to send back those of the company whom such a succession of mishaps had disheartened...It was not known til later that the alarm over the Speedwell's condition was owing to deception practiced by the master and crew... At length, on Wednesday, September 6/16, the Mayflower left Plymouth, and nine weeks from the following day on November 9/19, sighted the Eastern coast of the flat, but at that time well-wooded shores of Cape Cod.

She took from Plymouth 102 passengers, besides the master and crew; on the voyage one man-servant died and one child was born, making 102 (73 males and 29 females) who reached their destination. Of these the Colony proper consisted of 34 adult males, 18 of them accompanied by wives and 14 by minor children (20 boys and 8 girls); besides these, there were 3 maid-servants and 19 man-servants, sailers, and craftsmen, 5 of them only half-grown boys, who were hired for temporary service. Of the 34 men who were the nucleus of the Colony, more than half are known to have come from Leyden; in fact, but 4 of the 34 are certainly known to be of the Southhampton accessions... And whither were they bound?



Plymouth Lighthouse

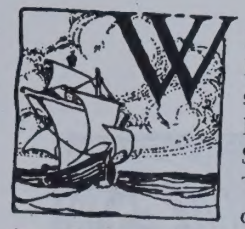
As we have seen, a patent was secured in 1619 in Mr. Wincob's name; but "God so disposed as he never went nor they ever made use of this patent," says Bradford, not however making it clear when the intention of colonizing under this instrument was abandoned. The merchant adventures, while negotiating at Leyden seem to have taken out another patent from the Virginia Company, in February 1620, in the names of John Peirce and of his associates; and this was more probably the authority under which the Mayflower voyage was undertaken. As the Pilgrims had known before leaving Holland of an intended grant of the northern parts of Virginia to a new company, the Council of New England, when they found themselves off Cape Cod. The patent they had being for Virginia and not for New England, which belonged to another Government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do, they changed the ship's course, with intent, says Bradford, "to find some place about Hudson's River for their habitation," and so fulfill the conditions of their patent; but difficulties of navigation and opposition from the master and crew caused the exiles, after half a day's voyage, to retrace their course and seek a resting place on the nearest shore...[2]

(continued on page 145)

SUBTLE ERRORS OF PILGRIM HISTORY IN AMERICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS*

ALTHOUGH the accounts of the Pilgrims are more complete in the American History books before World War II, the information was still begging for more accuracy. Note the six comments about some of the incomplete, misleading or even misguided information of the text. When it is partially inaccurate, one understands why there is a misunderstanding of Pilgrim history among the populace — even among those with a history major degree.

This is the only exposure the average student in higher education received on the Pilgrims of Colonial history through WWII that used this college textbook, unless the instructor supplemented the information with his lectures. Today, the textbooks are even more brief as more time must be crowded into the average 800 page history book. A post-World War II history textbook will be featured in the near future to show how the dilemma has been compounded.



WHILE the Southern colonies were being established, New England was settled largely as a result of the Puritan opposition to the Anglican Church. At the time when the great English merchants were worshipping at the village of Scrooby in Nottinghamshire in defiance of the state church. They were Puritans[1] who believed in local, congregational control of the church, and they believed also in the separation of Church and State.

From 1607 to 1609 groups of these Calvinists[2] left England for Holland, where the religious climate was more favorable to them. They longed, however, to live in an English society, rear their children as Englishmen, and be in a land where there was more opportunity. Consequently, a group of them decided to migrate to Virginia in 1620. The Virginia Company gave them permission to settle on its land,[3] and King James I promised not to molest them if they lived peaceably. This decision of the King's, opened English America to religious dissenters, and before long the English colonies became a great haven of refuge for the persecuted of Europe.[4] The Pilgrims lacked capital to finance their expedition and they made an arrangement with a group of London merchants whereby the profits of the colony were to go to the merchants for agreed number of years in return for financing of their colonization. Landing, by accident of weather, outside the Virginia Company's land and in territory that had been granted by the King to the Council for New England, headed by Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, the Pilgrims quickly obtained permission to settle from the (New England) Council.[5] The small colony never received a charter from the King, and in 1691 the King merged it with the larger Massachusetts Bay Colony. William Bradford, the first governor of Plymouth, left for posterity the story of the Pilgrims in a simple, moving book, *The History of Plymouth Plantation*.[6]

---

*This is the third of a series on American history textbooks. The first two articles appeared as the Editorial in the August and November 1988 Mayflower Quarterlies.

EDITOR'S COMMENTS FROM THE FOOTNOTES IN THE TEXT

1. Pilgrims are often and incorrectly called Puritans in the American history textbooks. Two more appropriate synonyms would be Separatists or non-Conformists. The term, *Puritans* was used to identify the whole separatist movement in the British Isles and on the Continent.

2. The term *Calvinists* is also misleading. John Calvin (1509-1564) born in France, was the protestant leader of Switzerland that separated from the Lutherans in 1561. John Knox (1505-1572)* was the Calvinist that led the Presbyterian movement in Scotland. Desiderius Erasmus (1467-1536) had a greater influence; he lectured at Cambridge and Oxford and was more instrumental in the Separatist movement also known as the Independent movement.

3. There is no hint of the Pilgrims having several charters or that they might have deliberately landed outside of the official boundries of the Virginia Colony as some historians believe.

4. This important statement refers to the King's permission to practice their Separatist religion without interference. However, the Puritans who arrived ten years later would not be called persecuted by the Pilgrim standards. The term *war-torn* would have been a better choice since the German and other Palantine city states had suffered the European religious wars [Thirty Years War (1618-1648)]. The Scots also could not be called persecuted, since their wars with England were much earlier. The reference of the "great refuge" should not have been used for this period of history; this reference was not used until the late 18th and 19th Century with the great migration of Irish, Central and Southern Europeans to their *refuge* in America.

5. Gorges thought his New England claim was a sub-claim and learned that his Charter was relinquished to the Massachusetts Bay Charter in 1623. Gorges retaliated by trying to have the Bay charter revoked by Archbishop Laud. He had the help of Morton who hatched a plot of exposing cunning Puritan motives of Massachusetts with his book, *New England Canaan*. If the English Civil War was not won by Oliver Cromwell and the Roundheads of the *New Model Army*, the Massachusetts Bay Charter could have been revoked by the King and Laud.

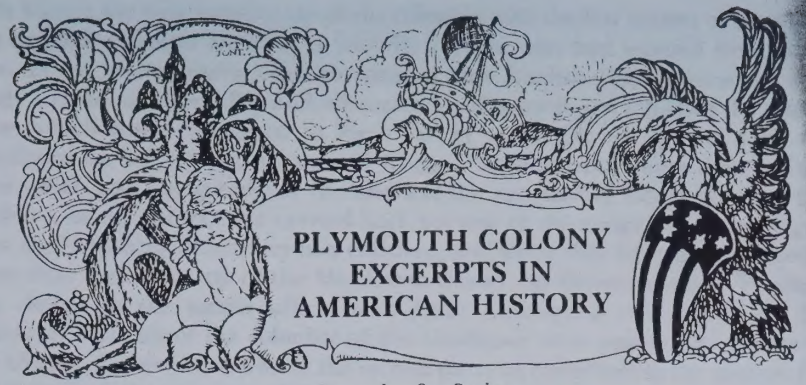
6. The correct and original name of the book is *Of Plimoth Plantation*.

*Note that John Knox was four years older than John Calvin, a fact often overlooked.

The United States, Experiment in Democracy, by Avery Craven and Walter Johnson, University of Chicago, Ginn & Co., 1941.

Progressive historical writing did for history what pragmatism did for philosophy, sociological jurisprudence for law and what muckraking did for journalism.

David D. VanTassel
Recording America's Past



Seventh of a Series

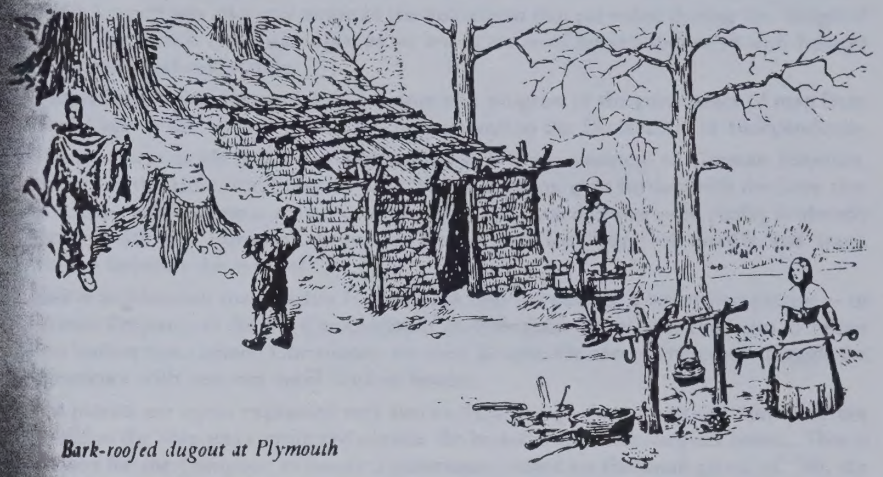
THE LANDING, THE FIRST YEAR OF PLYMOUTH AND ITS SUFFERINGS

By Joseph Newlson Larned

PART IV

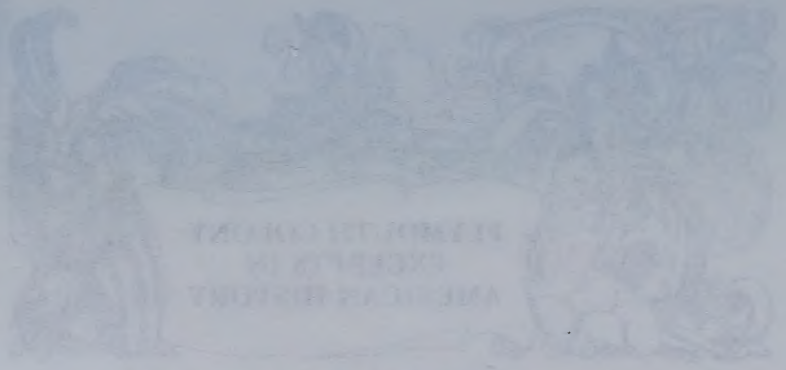
ON the same day as the arrival, an armed delegation visited the neighboring shore, finding no inhabitants. There were no attractions, however, for a permanent settlement, not even accommodations for a comfortable encampment while such a place was being sought. Some days were spent in exploring Cape Cod Bay, and the harbor since known as Plymouth Bay was chosen for the settlement of the colony. The exploring party landed, as is believed, at the famous Rock, on Monday, December 11/21. Through an unfortunate mistake, originating in the last century, the 22nd has been commonly adopted as the true date... Tradition divides the honor of being the first to step on Plymouth Rock between John Alden and Mary Chilton,[1] but the date of their landing must have been subsequent to December 11 (N.S.21). It was not till the end of the week, December 16/26, that the Mayflower was anchored in the chosen haven. The selection of a site and the preparation of materials, in uncertain weather, delayed till Monday, the 25th (Jan. 4 N.S.) the beginning of the first house for common use,[2] in to receive them and their goods. Before the new year, house lots were assigned to families and by the middle of January most of the company had left the ship for a home on land.[3] Before the Pilgrims landed, they by a solemn instrument founded the Puritan republic.[4] The tone of this instrument and the success of its authors may afford a lesson to revolutionists who sever the present from the past with the guillotine, fling the illustrious dead out of their tombs, and begin history again with the year one. These men had been wronged as much as the Jacobins. The roll of plebeian names listed after the Mayflower Compact to which the Roll of Battle Abbey is a poor record of nobility. There are points in history at which the spirit which moves the whole shows itself more clearly through the outward form. This is one of them. Here we are passing from the feudal age of privilege and force to the age of duty, submission and obedience to just and equal offices and laws, for our best ordering and preservation. In this political covenant of the Pilgrim fathers lies the American Declaration of Independence.[6] From the American Declaration of Independence was borrowed from the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. France, rushing ill-prepared, through with overwhelming confidence, on the great problems of the 18th century, shattered not her own hopes alone, but nearly at the same moment the Puritan Republic,[7] breaking their last slight link that bound it to feudal Europe, and placing modern society firmly and tranquilly on its new foundation. To the free States of America, we owe our best assurance that the oldest, the most famous, the most cherished of human institutions are not the life, nor would their fall be the death, of social man; that all which comes of Charlemagne, and all which comes from Constantine, might go to the tombs of Charlemagne and Constantine, and yet social duty and affection, religion and worship, free obedience to good government, free reverence for just laws, continue as before. They who have achieved this have little need to talk of Bunker's Hill.[8]

The labor of providing habitations had scarcely begun, when sickness set in, the consequence of exposure and bad food.[9] Within four months it carried off nearly half their number. Six died in December, 8 in January, 17 in February, and 13 in March. At one time during the winter, only six or seven had strength enough left to nurse the dying and bury the dead. Destitute of every provision which the weakness and the daintiness of the invalid require, the sick lay crowded in the unwholesome vessel, or in half-built cabins heaped around with snow-drifts. The rude sailors refused them even a share of those coarse sea-stores which would



Bark-roofed dugout at Plymouth

have given a little variety to their diet, till disease spread among the crew, and the kind ministrations of those whom they had neglected and affronted brought them to a better temper. The dead were interred in a bluff by the waterside, the marks of burial being carefully effaced, lest the natives should discover how the colony had been weakened... Meantime, courage and fidelity never gave out. The well carried out the dead through the cold and snow, and then hastened back from the burial to wait on the sick; and as the sick began to recover, they took the places of those whose strength had been exhausted.



In March, the first intercourse of the colonists with the few natives of the region was opened, through Samoset, a friendly Indian, who had learned from fishermen on the more eastern coast to speak a little English. Soon afterwards, they made a treaty of friendship and alliance with Massasoit, the Chief of the nearest tribe, which treaty remained in force for 54 years. On the 5th of April, the Mayflower set sail for her homeward voyage. "With scarcely more than half the crew which had navigated her to America, the rest having fallen victims to the epidemic of the winter...She carried back not one of the emigrants, dispiriting as were the hardships which they had endured, and those they had still in prospect." Soon after the departure of the Mayflower, Carver, the Governor died. "Bradford was chosen to the vacant office, with Isaac Allerton, at his request, for his Assistant. Forty-six of the colonists of the Mayflower were now dead — 28 out of the 48 men. Before the arrival of the second party of emigrants in the autumn, the dead reached the number of 51, and only an equal number survived the first miseries of the enterprise...

Before the winter set in, tidings from England, had come, to relieve the long year's lonesomeness; and a welcome addition was made to the sadly diminished number. The Fortune, a vessel of 55 tons burden, reached Plymouth after a passage of 4 months, with Cushman and some 30 other emigrants. The men who now arrived outnumbered those of their predecessors who were still living... Some were old friends of the colonists, at Leyden. Others were persons who added to the moral as well as the numerical strength of the settlement. But they were not wanting such as became subjects for anxiety and coercion." The Fortune also brought to the colonists a patent from the Council for New England, as it was commonly known — the corporation into which the old Plymouth Company, or North Virginia branch of the Virginia Company had been transformed.[9]

SOURCES

1. Larned, Joseph
2. Ibid.
3. Dexter, F.H.: The Pilgrim Church and Plymouth Colony (Narrative and Critical History of America), v.3, ch.8, with footnotes
4. Larned, Joseph
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Smith, Goldwin: On the Foundation of the American Colonies (Lectures on the Study of History)

7b. Bradford, William: *Of Plimoth Plantation*
7c. Mourt's Relation, or Journal of the Plantation of Plymouth (Edited by H.M. Dexter)
7d. Berry, J.S.: History of Massachusetts, Vol. 1, Chapt. 5
8. Bradford, William: *Of Plimoth Plantation*
8b. Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 4th series, v. 3, Book 1.
9. Larned, Joseph

THE NEXT ISSUE

Part V — The Colony Patent Arrangements and the Land Allotments.

THIS narrative style history, with the editorial comments by Joseph Larned, is meaningful, alive and has excellent perspective, although this type of editorial writing is not in favor today. The text is not written in an objective way as history texts have been written in the late 20th Century, but it still has dynamic impact and excellent analogies that challenge the mind to compare with other national and European situations in the past. There is also a spiritual awareness of our Nation's founding in the writing. We will comment on some of those observations.

1. Tradition mentions that it was John Alden who was the first person to step ashore, for Mary Chilton probably would have taken the hand of Alden when stepping onto the Rock.

2. The delay was also caused by the concern about the aboriginals being friendly or hostile, thus provoking an attack on the Pilgrim group soon after they were on shore. the Sabbath also delayed the group until Monday.

3. Even though lots were assigned, the central building was first raised for the group. The severe and devastating illnesses did not allow for any home building until the early Spring. Some families stayed on the Mayflower until the coldest weather, finally forcing them into the main lodge.

4. The correct name is used; the group founded a republic, where there was a (male) vote for the new leaders. In a technical sense, a pure democracy has everyone involved in the rules of governance on every issue.

5. The author, steeped in history, brings up the theme that "those who do not learn from the past are condemned to repeat it" or even the ancient proverb that relates the same concept on page 269. Larned was also very aware of the anarchism that prevailed during the "Reign of Terror" in the French Revolution; just as we are so aware of bitter/sweet event with France's recent bicentennial celebration.

6. A superb and finite statement in the nature and progress of the governance of man from the feudal age to the Magna Carta the Compact and to the Declaration of Independence.

7. This statement reads much like a Mencklen style terse comment of German historian, Golo Mann in the Historical Essay on page 204, only Mann goes further with the hope that all of Europe will become a united continent like the United States — in reality is already happening with the European Common Market and the lifting of tarriffs and travel restrictions between the nations.

8. Here is an historian that reaches further back into the past for a better perspective — to the Roman Empire and the the Carolingian (Carolovingian) Dynasty. Larned also mentions the two leaders that claimed Christianity for their people. He also refers to our struggle for Independence with one our most famous battles.

9. The patents are again explained very succinctly, although the patents were probably not fully valid as the Ship was considered outside the boundaries of the Virginia patent. That is one reason for the Compact; to assure a governance based on the small group of "We, the Pilgrims," or — "We, the people."

American Colonial history, like early English history, should reflect the style of government, the economic background, intellectual life, law, architecture, church (ie, religion), and the mores to understand our own stock of native genius and experience.

The Rev. James Wetmore (1695-1760)
Congregational, then Episcopal Clergyman

PILGRIM ARCHITECTURE

ST. PETER'S (PIETERSKERK) CHURCH IN LEYDEN

DURING the 16th century St. Peter's Church in Leyden was modified to a more simple design that reflected the changes brought by the Dutch Renaissance and the Dutch Reformation.* The rise of the middle class brought the vast and extensive trade routes and brought a new wealth that introduced a higher standard of living; it included the refinement of art (Van Dyke, Bruegel, Rubens, Rembrandt, van Rijn and Hals), architecture (de Key, van Campen), and economics that included the masterful land reclamation from the sea with the building of polders, dikes, and canals that used the picturesque wind-mills for pumping out the sea.

Because the beliefs of Luther and Calvin were received so early in these Low Countries, the northern part (Holland and Zeeland) took a different direction in architecture. The low countries in the south (now Belgium) remained mostly Catholic and thus continued with the Baroque style that was favored by the Jesuits.

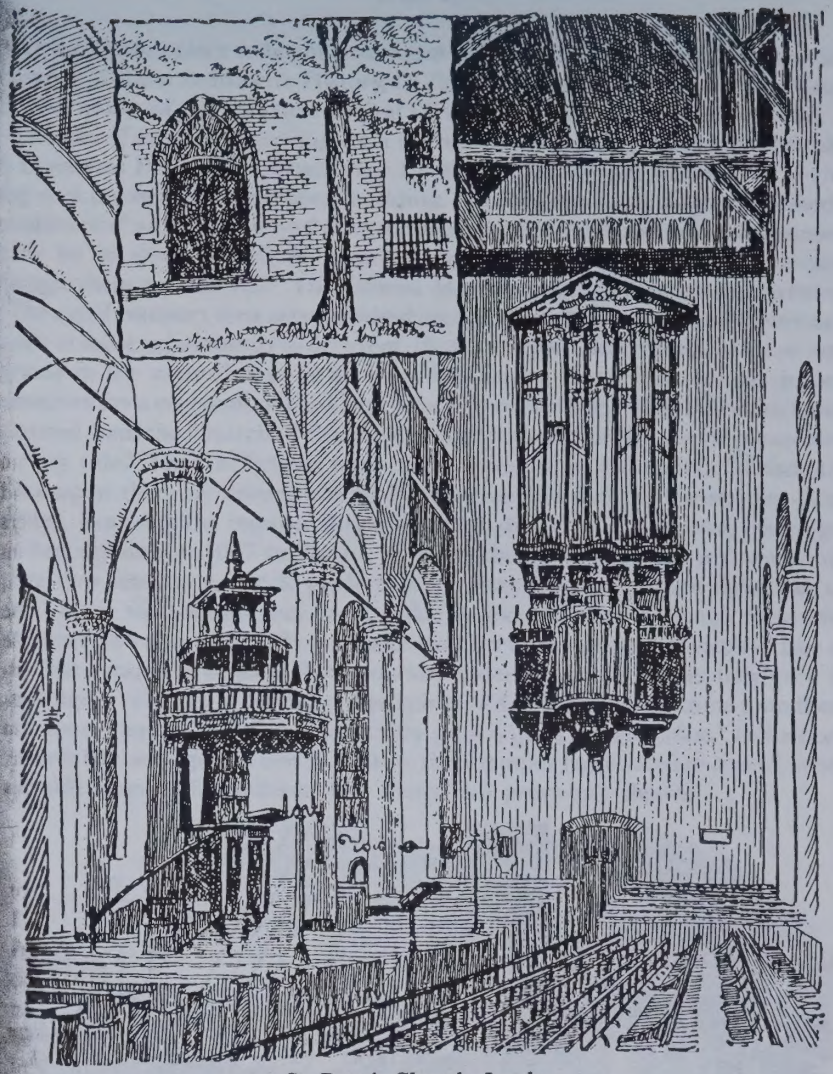
In the 17th century, the Dutch Republic had won their independence from Spanish rule and were in the "Golden Era" as a great European power. Leyden, with the larger Amsterdam, had reached a new pinnacle. The former leading port, beautiful old Bruges, had long been landlocked because of the silting in the waterways. The Pilgrim Fathers were brought into that thriving economic system that helped sustain them in the weaving and printing trades until their migration to America. One hundred years after the exodus the Pilgrims, the seaports lost their economic strength (the war with England, France, the great tidal wave, etc.).

When the spoken word became so important to protestant theology, high canopied pulpits were built to the side of the church. The pews were changed to face the pulpit and the lecturn. Music later became a more important part of the service as evident by the large installation of pipes in the year of the engraving (the organ pipes had not yet been installed in the Pilgrim era).

St. Peter's Church was not the place where the Pilgrims worshipped; they first had services immediately across the street in one of the member's homes.** There were three or more movements within the Reformation's new denominations that did not congeal well with the Pilgrim church; these were the Dutch Reformed, the Brownists (whom the Pilgrims thought were drifting away from a common doctrine), and the Arminius (or Episcopius) doctrines from the two professors of religion at the University of Leyden. Robinson was also opposed to the Lutheran and Calvinist doctrine in Holland, for he did not think they carried the Reformation far enough and to the degree of their Independent/Separatist church.

Later the Pilgrims were allowed by the University to use the Bagijnhop Chapel (which became the English/Scottish Reformed Church in 1644). The Historical Plaque on St. Peters states that Robinson preached over (and) against this spot from 1609 to 1625. Robinson had such respect in Lieden that he was buried in the crypt of the church; a memorial plaque was dedicated to him by the Congregational Church in 1891.

*See M.Q. May 1988, page 111 for an old engraving of the church exterior.
**The meeting hall was in the same Pilgrim neighborhood as the Rev. Robinson's home that is shown in an old engraving on page 240 of this issue.

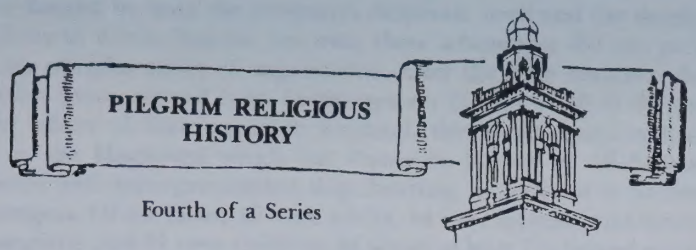


St. Peter's Church, Leyden.

Note that the columns and the tudor style arches supporting the nave of the church are the style of the early 15th century. The basic arched beamed ceiling is much like that of the earlier Norman period. This church does not reflect the Brabantine Gothic of other Low Country churches. However, secular buildings of a later period in the 16th and 17th century had a more decorative exterior that reflected a more extravagant and ornate expression (see Leyden Town Hall - M.Q. May 88, p. 100).

The Lord hath more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy Word...A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a great nation.

The Rev. John Robinson (1576?-1625)
Minister to the Pilgrim Church in Leyden



Fourth of a Series

A RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

By Sydney E. Alhstrom

IT is important to read and study all of the disciplines for a full perspective of history. There are many forms of historical writings; biographical, as with Carlyle; economic, as with Trevelyan; philosophic, as with Ranke; or social, as with Hofstadter. There is also political history, as with Macaulay and theological or religious history as in the writings of Niebuhr or Kierkegaard (another specialty within the religious framework would be the spiritual histories; Bradford's history would best qualify under this title). Each has a contribution to the overall perspective in historiography. If one reads only one of the historical disciplines, there is not a complete understanding of the past - one only sees one narrow glimpse of the story - a story that is not completely understood until a good share of the different disciplines are synthesized. In using a Pilgrim Lieden weaver analogy, the warp, weft and the many colors of filler yarns of a tapestry are needed before the material is complete. This excerpt is from, A Religious History of the American People, *Vol. I, by Image Books.*

THE HOLY COMMONWEALTHS OF NEW ENGLAND
(Chapter Nine)

EXCERPTS FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO THE CHAPTER

ALL over the world New England is known as the place where the Puritan (and Pilgrim) achieved their fullest, least inhibited flowering. And for well over two centuries after its founding, the region self consciously understood its own vocation in these terms... But the four chief New England Colonies were instilled with a peculiarly corporate spirit. In each of them, covenantal ideas, though no magic bar to schism or fragmentation, put a curb on purely individualistic endeavors, while an underlying conception of government by social compact gave further strength to the feeling of solidarity. The idea of a national covenant also bound together the people of each commonwealth, as well as the visible saints, in common task. In the early years, this sense of common calling was strengthened by the widely held conviction that the reformation being carried out in these commonwealths was actually a decisive phase in the final chapter of God's plan for his Church in this world...conceived as truly an "Elect Nation" and the Puritans (and Pilgrims)...were now corporately performing their ultimate task.

(Part I)

There is no better place to begin an account of New England church life than with Governor William Bradford's History, *Of Plimouth Plantation,* for none can match his description of the Pilgrims' arrival in Cape Cod Bay in November 1620.

A month of anxious searching for a harbor and town site followed, until finally on Christmas Day they asserted their freedom from "popish festivals" by beginning work on their common stores building. But before landing they had formed a "combination" as "ye first foundation of their government in this place; occasioned partly by ye discontented & mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall." The famous Mayflower Compact...was thus written.

The social compact thus accomplished accords with Puritan political theory and stands in loose relationship to an event 16 years before, when some of these very persons in the manorhouse at Scrooby had, "as ye Lords free people, joyned themselves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate." They had consciously separated from the Church of England, and were therefore "hunted & persecuted on every side." Their afflictions were made no easier by the epithet "schismatic" visited upon them by nonseparating Puritans no less than by the strictest Conformists. Realizing the impossibility of their predicament, the Scrooby congregation had decided in 1607 to flee to the Netherlands. After many misadventures before they saw the grime & grisly face of povertie coming upon them like an armed man, with whom they must bukle & incounter...and though they were sometimes foyled, yet by God's assistance they prevailed and got ye victory." Due to their "hard ministry of John Robinson and Elder William Brewster they grew in knowledge & other gifts & graces of ye spirite of God...and many came unto them from diverse parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation." Influenced doubtless by the large-spirited Robinson, their temper moderated to a much more charitable form of Separatism than many had previously shown.

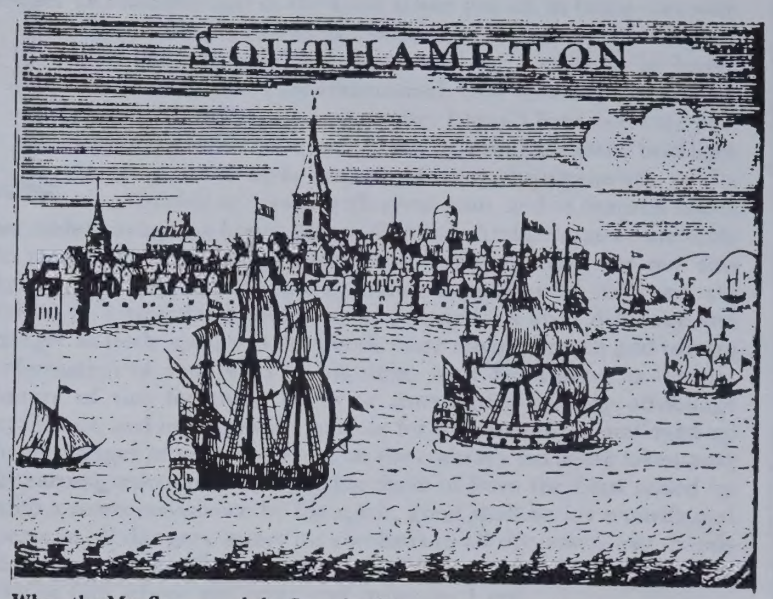
Robinson's prayer at the departure of the Pilgrims from Delph Haven.
(Early 18th Century Engraving)

Ye[illegible]omfortable life in Holland was not their goal, and inquietude over this prosp[illegible] eventually led them to contact the Virginia Company in London. In this they were favored by both the company's desperate need and the deeply sympathetic efforts of Edwin Sandys, but even these advantages did not preclude an enormously complex series of negotiations. After the most vexatious delays, the little Leyden group set sail from Delfshaven on 22 July 1620 in the Speedwell. Joined by others of their group in England, the whole company finally took passage on the Mayflower, which left Plymouth harbor on 16 September, an overcrowded and underprovisioned ship, bearing, in addition to its crew of 48, 101 passengers. Of the latter, 56 were adults, 14 were servants and hired artisans (not Separatists), and 31 were children, of whom at least 7 belonged neither to the passengers nor to any English Separatist, but were probably waifs and idlers. The figures include 35 from Leyden and 66 from London and Southampton who were recruited for the venture. On the voyage itself, though it took 65 days, only one passenger died, while two were born. But the first winter compensated horribly for that good fortune; by spring half of the company had died of scurvy, general debility, and other unascertainable causes.

The heroic beginnings and unostentatious life of the Plymouth Colony have won for it a secure place in American hearts. From the viewpoint of church history, moreover, its symbolic significance is great, for it remains the classic instance in America of congregational Separatism. From humble and lower middle class backgrounds, the Pilgrim Fathers had few intellectual or academic pretensions or aspirations. Less than 20 university men came to the Colony during the first three decades, and only 3 of them, all ministers, remained. For 50 years the Colony lacked a public school and sent no one away to a university. Perhaps as a consequence of these facts, but also because the Colony as a whole attracted few immigrants, its churches were frequently without ministers. Until 1629 there were none in the whole Colony; indeed, it is something of an anomaly that for almost a decade these pious Pilgrims scarcely had a church even by their own definition. A Dutch visitor in 1627 saw them marching in solemn procession and by drumbeat to the Sabbath meeting, where Elder Brewster, a layman, "taught twice every Sabbath, and yet both powerfully and profitable, to ye great contentment of ye hearers, and their comfortable edification; yea, many were brought to God by his ministrie." But Brewster, on advice from his Amsterdam pastor, did not administer the sacraments; and until the Reverend Ralph Smith came from Salem, Plymouth had no regular minister. The company had sent the Reverend John Lyford, an Anglican of sorts, in 1624; but when he proved unworthy, Bradford ran him out of Plymouth.

Only a few men — notably Elder William Brewster, Deacon Samuel Fuller, Edward Winslow, and possibly the fabled Myles Standish — are remembered as significant champions of the Colony's way. As to literary achievement, Governor Bradford's simple yet eloquent history stands almost alone as its great religious epic. John Robinson, their most powerful advocate, remained in the Netherlands where he died in 1625 before he could join his congregation. The American representatives of Separatism at Plymouth were not theologically minded, nor were they aggressive or self-conscious in their churchmanship. It is unlikely that they influenced the church views of the Bay Colony, and in later years they probably adopted the Massachusetts demand for a converted church membership. They sought and found freedom to create a "body politick" and a thoroughly congregational church way, and this is the chief significance of their courageous venture.

There are reasons for the failure of the Pilgrim Fathers to achieve greatness — which they never aspired to in the first place. For one thing, "the howling wilderness" to which they came was something less than lush. Having landed outside the Virginia grant, moreover, they were involved in financial and legal difficulties which were not resolved until the Old Colony became duly chartered in 1691 as part of Massachusetts. The government nevertheless was orderly. All free men voted for the governor and seemed to have elected John Carver even before they left England. When he died, Bradford took his place and through 30 annual terms of office came virtually to personify the mind of the Colony. In 1636 the Great Fundamentals, legal code, was enacted; and in 1643 a representative form of government was established for the ten towns then existing. Their delegates met annually in Plymouth with the governor and his assistants as a unicameral general court. Despite the absence of a religious test, the franchise became no broader than it was in the Bay Colony — limited in practice to propertied men of stable orthodox views.



When the Mayflower and the Speedwell lay at anchor in Southampton harbor, the walled port city probably appeared much as it does in this seventeenth-century print.

For reasons not entirely clear, the Colony grew only very slowly. It took 2 years to replenish the losses of the first year's decimation. After a decade there were only 300 and by 1643 there were about 2500 people widely scattered among ten towns. As the attraction of remoter lands increased, Bradford reported that Plymouth town itself became thin and bare. In 1691 the Colony's population was estimated at 7500. By that time its mode of life, its problems and its churches had lost most of their distinctiveness. The nature of this transformation, as well as of the Colony's most besetting problem, is better highlighted in the history of Plymouth's large and overbearing neighbor to the north.

John Robinson's Garden

Loving Christian friends,

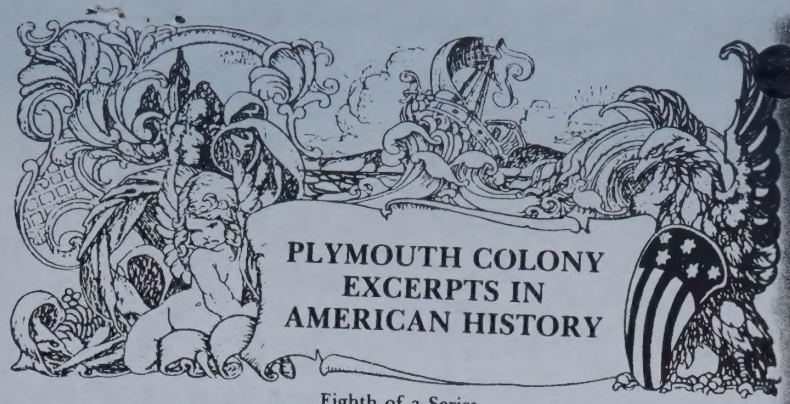
I DO heartily and in the Lord salute you all, as being they with whom I am present in by affection, and most earnest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you. I say constrained, God knowing how willing, and much rather then otherwise, I would have born my part with you in this brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me in the meanwhile, as of a man divided in myself with great pain, and as (natural bonds set aside) having my better part with you.....And first, as we are daily to renew our repentinance with our God, especially for our sins known, and generally for the unknown trespasses. So the Lord will call us in a singular manner upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lyeth upon you, to a both more narrow search and careful reformation of your ways in his sight; least He, calling to remembrance of sins forgotten by us or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgment, leave us for the same to be swallowed up in one danger or other; whereas on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance and pardon there of from the Lord sealed up unto a man's conscience by his spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or in death.....Farewell to you in him whom you trust and in whom I rest.

An unfained wellwisher of your happy success in the hopeful voyage,

John Robinson

John Robinson

John Kennedy Fowler



Eighth of a Series

THE PATENT BROUGHT TO THE PILGRIMS ON THE SHIP, FORTUNE

By Joseph Nelson Larned

PART V

THE Patent came on the ship Fortune from the Pilgrims' friends from the Council. It was taken out in the name of John Pierce, citizen and clothworker of London and his associates, with understanding that it should be held in trust for the Adventurers, of whom Pierce was one. It allowed 100 acres of land to every colonist gone and to go to New England, at a year rent of two shillings an acre after seven years. It granted 1,500 acres for public uses and liberty to "hawk, fish and fowl"; to "truck, trade and traffic" with the savages; to "establish such laws and ordinances as are for their better government, and the same, by such officer or officers as they shall by most voices elect and choose, to put in execution"; and "to encounter, expulse, repel, and resist by force of arms all intruders..."

The instrument was signed for the Council by the Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Sheffield, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges... The precise time of the adoption of the name which the settlement was borne since its first year is not known. Plymouth is the name recorded on Smith's map as having been given to the spot by Prince Charles. It seems very likely that the emigrants had with them this map, which had been much circulated...

Morton (Memorial, 56) assigns as a reason for adopting it that "Plymouth in Old England was the last town they left in their native country, as they received many kindnesses from some Christians there." In Mort's Relation, *Plymouth* and the "new well-defended town of New Plymouth" are used as equivalent. Later the name Plymouth came to be appropriated to the town, and New Plymouth to the Colony.

REFERENCES

Palfrey, J.G.: *History of New England.* Vol 1, Chapter 5 and footnote
Goodwin: *The Pilgrim Republic.* Chapter 9 to 16
Baylies, F.: *Historical Memoir of New Plymouth.* Vol 1, Chapter 5-6
Young, A.: *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*

THE NEXT ISSUE

PART VI — Weston at Wessagusset, Morton at Merrymouth and other Settlements.

O GOD, BENEATH THY GUIDING HAND

By Leonard Bacon (1802-1881)

O God, beneath thy guiding hand
Our exiled Fathers crossed the sea;
And, when they trod the wintry stand,
With prayer and Psalm they worshipped thee.

Thou heard'st well-pleased, the song, the prayer;
Thy blessing came; and still its power
Shall onward through all feet have trod,
Thy God they trusted guards their graves.

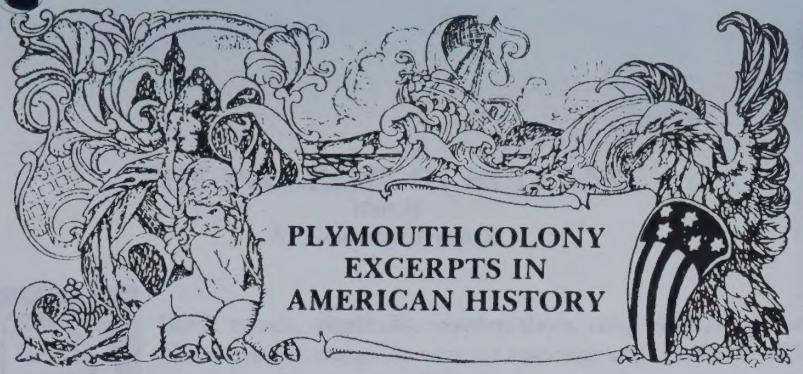
Laws, freedom, truth, and faith in God
Came with those exiles o'er the waves;
And where their Pilgrim feet have trod,
The God they trusted guards their graves.

And here thy name, O God of Love,
Their children's children shall adore,
Till these eternal hills remove,
And spring adorns the earth no more.

This poem, memorializing the Pilgrim heritage of America, is in the *Pilgrim Hymnal* and is set to the *Duke Street* tune, composed by John Hatton in 1793. The Hymn is Number 347 in the 1935 edition of the Pilgrim Press.

The author, *Leonard Bacon* was an American Congregational clergyman. He was also a founder of, *The Independent Leader,* in the antislavery movement. He was also the author of *Slavery Discussed in Occasional Essays* (1846) and *the Genesis of the New England Churches* (1874).

His son, *Leonard Woolsey Bacon* was also a Congregational clergyman and writer. Rev. Leonard's brother, Rev. Delia Bacon, was pastor of the First Congregational Church in New Haven, Connecticut, beginning in 1825.



Ninth of a Series

WESTON AT WESSAGUSSET, MORTON AT MERRYMOUNT AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS

By Joseph Nelson Larned

PART VI

DURING the years immediately following the voyage of the Mayflower, several attempts at settlement were made about the shores of the Massachusetts Bay. One of the merchant adventurers, Thomas Weston, took it into his head in 1622 to separate from his partners and send out a colony of seventy men on his own account. These men made a settlement at Wessagusset, some twenty-five miles north of Plymouth. They were a disorderly, thriftless rabble picked up from the London streets, and soon got into trouble with the Indians; after a year they were glad to get back to England as fast as they could, and in this the Plymouth settlers willingly aided them.

In June of that same year, 1622, there arrived on the scene a picturesque but ill understood personage, Thomas Morton, of Clifford's Inn, Gent., as he tells on the title-page of his quaint and delightful book, *The New English Canaan*. Bradford disparingly says that he had been a kind of petiefogger of Furnifell's Inn; but the churchman Samuel Maverick declares, that he was a Gentleman of good qualitie. He was an agent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and came with some royalists and Episcopal settlers in the Massachusetts Bay. He was naturally regarded with ill favour by the Pilgrims as well as by the later Puritan settlers, and their accounts of him will probably bear taking with a grain or two of salt.

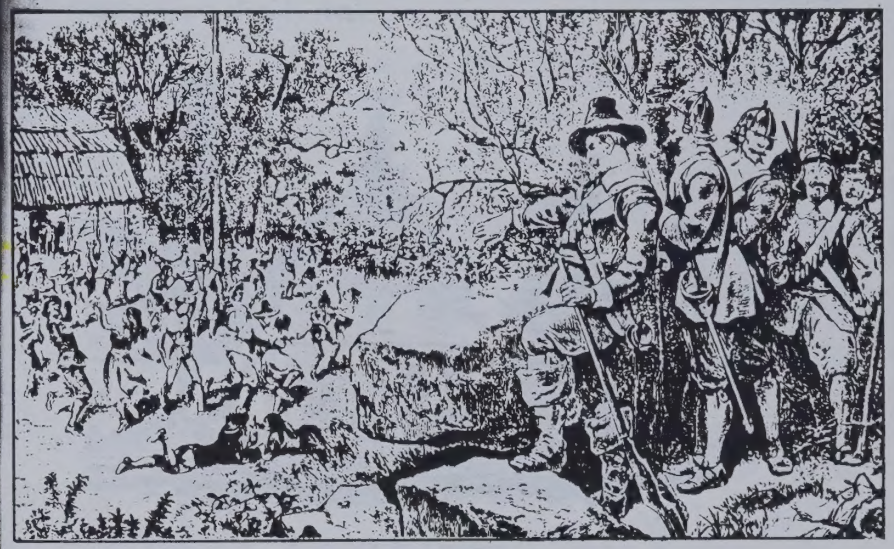
In 1625 there came one Captain Wollaston, with a gang of indentured white servants, and established himself on the site of the present town of Quincy. Finding this system of industry ill suited to northern agriculture, he carried most of his men off to Virginia, where he sold them.

Morton took possession of the site of the settlement, which he called Merrymount. There according to Bradford, he set up "a schoole of atheism, and his men did quaff strong waters and comfort themselves as if they had anew revived and celebrated of the feast of ye Roman Goddess, Flora, or the beastly practices of ye madd Bachanilians." Charges of atheism have been freely hurled about in all ages. In Morton's case the accusation seems to have been based upon the fact that he used the Book of Common Prayer. His men so far maintained the ancient customs of merry England as to plant a Maypole eighty feet high, about which they frolicked with the (female) redskins, while furthermore they taught the men the use of firearms and sold them muskets and rum. This was positively dangerous, and in the summer of 1628 the settlers at Merrymount were dispersed by Myles Standish. Morton was sent to England, but returned the next year, and presently again repaired to Merrymount.

By this time other settlements were dotted about the coast. There were a few scattered cottages or cabins at Nantaket and at the mouth of the Piscataqua, which Samuel Maverick had fortified himself on Noodle's Island, and William Blackstone already lived upon the Shawmut peninsula, since called Boston. These two gentlemen were no friends of the Puritans; they were churchmen and representatives of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

REFERENCES

Fisk, John: *The Beginnings of New England*, Chapter 8
Adams, C.F. Jr.: *Old Planters about Boston Harbor* (Mass.Soc.Proceed., June 1878)
Adams, C.F. Jr.: *Introduction to Morton's New English Canaan* (Prince Soc., 1883)



The sadness and pathos which some might read into the (Pilgrim) narrative are to me lost in victory. The triumph of a noble cause, even at a great price, is theme for rejoicing, not for sorrow; the story of the Pilgrims is one of triumphant achievement.

Roger Wolcott (1679-1767)
Governor of Connecticut (1751-1754)

THE PILGRIMS IN HOLLAND

(Part I)

By Catharine Newbold

DIKES, canals, windmills, wooden shoes, tulip fields, of course! These are the things Americans associate with Holland. While these are stereotypes, all have a basis in fact.

But for other Americans yet another image of Holland comes to mind — the home for over ten years of the Pilgrims and from which some of them set sail to establish Plymouth in the New World. Probably no one of the early colonies has become so much a part of our national mythology as Plymouth. Yet it was small in numbers, poor in material resources, and was eventually absorbed by the powerful Massachusetts Bay Colony. But its settlers pioneered in establishing a colony of dissenters where men were free to think, write, and worship as they pleased. The heroism displayed by the Pilgrims in the face of poverty, hardship, and death in the first decade of exile in America (1620-30) had its schooling in the decade 1610-1620, in the Netherlands.

This is a brief account of the years of hardships, poverty, and suffering in that strange but hospitable country.

The story begins at Scrooby, a village north of York, England, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. William Brewster who had become private secretary to Sir William Davidson, one of Queen Elizabeth's Secretaries of State, after leaving Cambridge University, watched with concern the rift developing between the would-be-purifiers and the established English Church. He thought nostalgically of happier days spent in Holland when his chief, Sir William, was stationed there. Less than a year after James VI of Scotland became James I of England (1603) he called the English clergy together to hear their complaints. Long sought, the conference ended in bitter failure with James threatening to make them "conform or harry them out of the land."

When Brewster heard of the King's threat, he severed his ties with the established church and gathered together a band if dissenting Christians for devotional services in his home. John Robinson, just past thirty and young William Bradford who was destined one day to become the governor of Plymouth Plantation, and its historian, helped Brewster in his work.

By 1607 no place in England was safe for the Separatists. In later years Bradford wrote that for their religion and social beliefs some were "clapt into prison, others had their houses beset, watched night and day, and hardly escaped the jailer's hand." Thus seeing themselves beset they resolved by joint consent to go into the Low Countries "where they heard there was freedom of religion for all men."

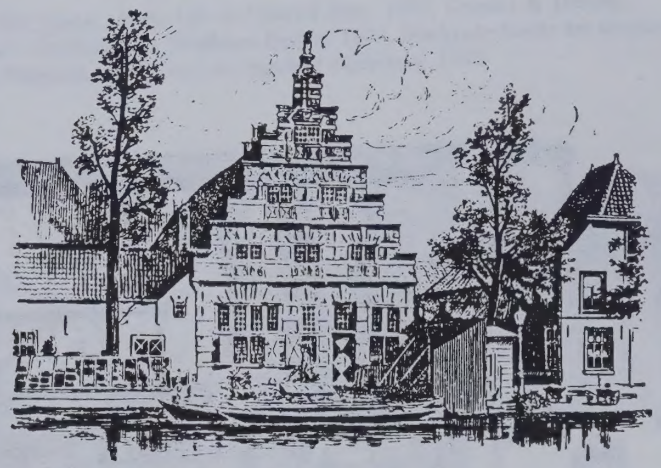
For some time plans had been underway to leave England and go to Holland, that enviable land of toleration and religious freedom. As early as 1583, a group

of Englishmen, following a prison term, went to Middleburg in Zeeland, establishing a Congregational church there and publishing incendiary books. These books aroused the wrath of English authorities when they fell into their hands. More recently a band of Separatists from London had settled in Amsterdam. They were joined by a group from Gainsborough with whom the Scrooby group had worshipped.

But giving up jobs, family and friends and going into exile was not a step to be taken lightly. Bradford wrote of it "to go into a country they knew not, where they must learn a new language, get their livings they knew not how (it being a dear place) and subject to the miseries of war . . . was desperate adventure . . . a case intolerable." But as Bradford continues "though not dismayed, these things did trouble them."

Their going must be kept secret, for though their consciences would not let them remain, laws forbade the emigration of dissenters and Roman Catholics. They laid their plans carefully to leave Boston, England, in a body, but the ship captain betrayed them. They were stripped of their money, books and other goods and lodged in jail. After a month all but seven were released.

Another attempt was made the following spring with equally humiliating results from a place near Hull. One boatload of men were aboard, others including women and children were waiting on the shore with their possessions when the Dutch Captain seeing a company of men in full pursuit, set sail, leaving those on shore stranded. How those left behind fared during the next months is not recorded. Somehow, by one means or another, all finally reached Amsterdam for a reunion, not only with those who had sailed without them, but also with the two English congregations already there.



A HOUSE IN LEYDEN.

As it was in 1620.

Catharine Newbold, PhD., *is a retired professor of history at the State University of New York (SUNY) at Albany. A similar story of the Pilgrims appeared in the Albany Colony Chronicles several years ago. Dr. Newbold now lives at 2744 Pahqitz MacCallam Way, Apt. 324, Palm Springs, CA.*

THE PILGRIMS IN ENGLAND

Part II

By Caroline Newton

Lucky, clearly, whatever, wooden dress, only [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] the things [illegible] [illegible] with Puritans. [illegible] [illegible] an [illegible], all have a basis in fact.

But for under Amersham set another image of Puritan [illegible] — the house for over ten years of the Pilgrim [illegible] and from which some of them set sail for Massachusetts. Plymouth in the New World. Probably no one of the early colonies has become so much a part of our national mythology as Plymouth. Yet it was small in numbers, poor in material resources, and was eventually absorbed by the powerful Massachusetts Bay Colony that its settlers pioneered in establishing a colony of dissenters when [illegible] were free to think, write and worship as their pleased. The lessons displayed by the Pilgrims in the face of poverty, hardship, and death in the first decade [illegible] in America (1620-30) had its echoing in the decade 1610-1620, in the Scottish [illegible].

This is a brief account of the years of hardship, poverty and suffering in the strange but hospitable country.

The story begins at Scrooby, a village north of York, England, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. William Brewster, who had become postmaster, [illegible] Sir William Davison, one of Queen Elizabeth's secretaries of state, after [illegible] Cambridge University, [illegible] with reason the risk developing between [illegible] would be pro-Catholic and the established English Church. He thought nostalgically of happy days spent in Holland when his chief, Sir William, was [illegible] Less than a year after James VI of Scotland became James I of England [illegible] called the English clergy together to hear their complaints. [illegible] conference ended in bitter failure with James threatening to "harry them out of the land."

When Brewster heard of the King's threat, he secured his [illegible] with the [illegible] Chief Justice [illegible] a land of dissenting Christians [illegible] in his house, John Robinson, just past thirty and young William Bradford, who was destined one day to become the governor of Plymouth Plantation, [illegible] Brewster in his [illegible].

By 1607 no place in England was safe for the Separatists. In later years Bradford wrote that the three religious and social beliefs some were "days in [illegible] where had their houses burnt, wanted meat and drink, and hardly escaped the jailer's hands." Thus seeking themselves been then resolved by joint consent to go into the Low Countries "where they heard there was liberty of religion for all men."

For years the people had been unknown to leave England and go to Holland [illegible]

A House in Leyden

As it was in 1620

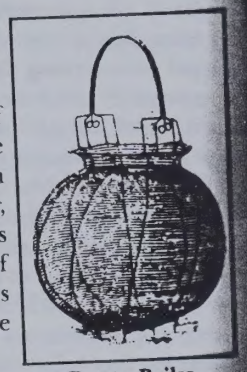
LIFE IN PLYMOUTH COLONY

THE KITCHEN FIRESIDE

First of a Series

THE Kettle within the illuminated letter "T" is similar to those used by the Pilgrims during the 17th century. It is also similar to the iron kettle that belonged to Myles Standish.* The larger pots that had legs and a cover were called Dutch ovens and were used for baking bread and stewing meats; for cooking it was buried under the glowing embers of the fire. There is a Dutch oven shown in the left corner of the fireplace on the next page. Later, there were kettles of copper or brass. The kettles and bowls that did not have legs were placed on trivets. Several models are shown; a tripod and a rounded style, in the lower left and right sides of the fireplace opening, respectively.

If the kettle or oven was used for boiling meats, a potato boiler of wire or cord net was used to cook the potatoes or vegetables in the same container.



Potato Boiler

The first fireplaces were made of a catted chimney of logs and clay. Because of the fire threat, chimneys of stone were built later. These had a projecting inner ledge on which rested a bar of about six or seven feet from the floor, called a lug-pole (meaning, to carry) or a back-bar; this was first made of green wood thus lasting for many months if the flames were kept under control. Later the back-bars were made of iron as shown in the upper part of the engraving.

The houses of the "First Comers" were vast in size compared to our fireplaces today. Some were so large that the fore-logs and back-logs for the fire had to be dragged in by horses and then put into place with a log chain. Often a hand-sled was kept for that purpose. As shown in several engravings of fireplace hearths in the Mayflower Quarterly the last few years, there were often high backed wooden seats next to the chimney on either side. In the evening, the children could sit on these wooden benches and watch the hot sparks fly upward and join the stars which could plainly be seen looking up into the great chimney.

On the lug-poles were hung pothooks, trammels, hakes, pothangers, pot-claws, pot-clips, pot-brackes, and pot-crooks. Shown in the drawing are three trammels; the first is a chain-hanger and the second and third are adjustable trammels. The first adjustable trammel is a ratchet style and the second is a pot-crook (also known as a gallows-crook). Folding trammels up to nine feet long have been found; one was found hidden in an old Narragansett chimney hearth in the nineteenth century.

There is an engraving of a kettle, sword, and pewter dish owned by Myles Standish in the Mayflower Quarterly, May 1988, page 122.

The iron swinging crane is claimed to be a Yankee invention and proved to be more useful and graceful substitute for the lug-poles. On the crane is shown a "S" style pot-clip and a hanging round brazier over the spit to use additional hot coals in the roasting of meats.

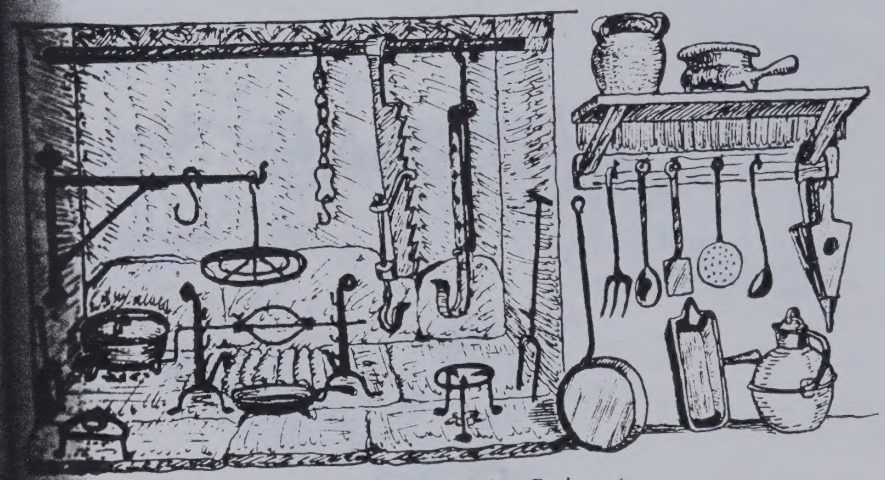
The andirons or fire-dogs were also iron-wrought — sometimes the more expensive models had brass finials on the top; the name fire-dog came from the shape looking much like an animal such as a dog. The brass front models that we now enjoy were not available at reasonable prices until the 18th century. Note the six hooks (three on each fire-dog) that allows for different heights for the hand-crank spittle. There is also a wing-nut on the spittle to allow for the securing of any number of roasts, fish or fowl. In front of the fire-dogs is a skillet on legs with a handle; it is also called a small "spider."

Note the fire shovel for ashes propped against the left side wall. The ash was used to make lye for producing soap. Hardwoods as oak, maple and birch were preferred to softwoods such as pine for making the lye. On the right side of the fireplace is a fire-tong used to adjust the logs.

The wooden wall shelf on the left of the fireplace holds a pottery jar and a small earthenware jar called a "pipkin" that is also used over the hot coals. Hanging from the wall shelf and made of iron, tin, or copper are a meat fork, a large spoon, a spatula, a skimmer, a ladel and a pair of bellows. On the floor is a long handled frying pan (if it had a lid, it could also be a bed warmer). The next item on the floor is a cast iron or wooden elongated pan for catching the grease drippings from the cooking of meat. The last item is a tin or brass milk jug.

With the larger families, the kettles sometimes weighed as much as 40 pounds. The great brass and copper kettles often held up to fifteen gallons. Cooking was much more of a task during the Colonial era.

1. Earle, Alice Morse, *Home Life in Colonial Days*, 1898, Grosset & Dunlap.
2. Cyril Leek Marshall, *The Mayflower Destiny*, 1975, Stackpole Books for fireplace etching.
3. Funk & Wagnalls, *New Practical Standard Dictionary*, 1952



Seventeenth-Century Fireplace Equipment.

THE PILGRIMS IN HOLLAND

(Part II of III)

By Dr. Catharine Newbold

IN many respects the Pilgrims were congenial with Holland and her convictions and ideals. Holland was born and grew to her greatness in a fierce struggle for religious and civil freedom against the mighty Spanish Power. We know little of the Pilgrims' brief year in Amsterdam. Unfortunately, they soon discovered an intolerance quite as rigid as the one from which they had fled. The disputes, contests and quarrels among the Brownists and other independent groups who had settled in Holland during the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign and the early years of James' were more intense than any the Dutch had experienced since the Reformation. Some of the quarrels were trivial, some were of a more serious nature such as those concerning church government, baptism, and translations of the scriptures, but they made irreconcilable differences between pastors, and the flocks divided. Thus although the Pilgrims found friends and some of them found modest opportunities for work in numerous trades, life in Amsterdam was far from peaceful. Two facts are pretty certain about their life there, they set up their own church (the third refugee church there) and they were desperately poor. Bradford has this to say, "It was not long before they saw the grim and grisly face of poverty coming upon them like an armed man, with whom they must buckle and encounter, and from whom they could not fly, but they were armed with faith and patience against him and all his encounters, and though they were sometimes foiled, yet by God's assistance they prevailed and got victory."

Victory, if you can call it that, came with a decision to migrate again - this time to Leiden. A committee was named to petition the Burgomasters, Court, and City of Leiden to allow them to settle there. Their request, a simple, moving appeal, is preserved in the *Journal of the Court of Justice*. "With due submission and respect: Ian Robarthse, Minister of the Divine Word, and some of the members of the Christian Reformed religion, born in the Kingdom of Great Britain, to the number of 100 persons or thereabouts, men and women, represent that they desire to come to live in this city by the first day of May next (1609) and to have the freedom thereof in carrying on their trades, without being a burden to anyone."

The Dutch republic was faced with the necessity of remaining on good terms with England for its wool was imported from there and the English navy was needed in the event of the revival of war with Spain, but a reply to the petition was prompt. The Burgomasters held that all considerations of political advantage should be disregarded where freedom of religion was at stake. "No honest person would be refused free ingress provided such persons behave themselves and submit to the laws and ordinances," so the answer read. Toward the end of April 1609, the Pilgrims sailed from Amsterdam to Leiden which was to be their home for the next ten years.

As in the case of their year in Amsterdam, little information is available about the Pilgrims in Leiden. Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* devotes only about forty pages to their ten years there and all but four deal with the reasons for leaving. The records in the Leiden Archives give us some information on their births, marriages, occupations, and deaths.

Leiden in 1610 was a busy manufacturing city of 50,000, less commercially famous than Amsterdam, but well known for its University founded in 1575. The story of the establishment of the University indicates much of the spirit of the Dutch. William of Orange had long dreamed of having a Calvinist University in Holland and many cities had applied for the honor of being the home of such a University. After an heroic stand against the Spanish in 1574 in which they broke the seige, the citizens of Leiden were offered a choice of reward - one year's freedom from taxes or the University. Grinding as were the taxes and poor as the citizens were, they unhesitatingly chose the University.

Leiden proved to be a much more satisfactory and congenial place than Amsterdam to live. Two great Reformed Churches, St. Pancraskerk and Pieterskerk were of central ecclesiastical importance. By the time the Pilgrims settled in Leiden, the University occupied buildings of the former convent of the White Nuns close by. It was to this favorable neighborhood that the Pilgrims gravitated. Ultimately about three-fourths of them found homes no more than a quarter mile from the Kloksteeg, the alley running from the Pieterskerk to the University. Kloksteeg means Bell Alley, so named because at one time the bell of Pieterskerk was mounted in a separate tower. Because they were not permitted to worship in any regular church, the Pilgrims were forced to find a place to gather. On January 27, 1611, John Robinson and others purchased a property across from Pieterskerk. The large house called Groeneport (Green Door) became the residence of Robinson and the place of worship. Under the guidance of a carpenter in the group, William Jepson, a series of twenty-one small cottages were erected within the courtyards of the Groeneport.

Woolen and other clothing materials were staple products of Leiden so it is not surprising that many of the Pilgrims found employment as cloth workers. The records indicate they were say weavers ("say" is a coarse woolen fabric, like blanketing), baize weavers ("baize" is a felt like woolen), bombazine (used in making mourning clothes) and fustian (a coarse fabric of cotton & flax) weavers, as well as coopers, engravers, leather workers, mirror makers, locksmiths, ribbon weavers, tobacco merchants, hat makers, tailors, watch makers, silversmiths, and shoemakers. William Brewster earned his living at first as a teacher of English, chiefly to University students, especially Germans and Danes. Later a friend helped to finance him in the publishing business. Among the books published were several considered heretical in England. King James tried to get the culprits extradited. The Dutch authorities were reluctant but finally delivered Thomas Brewer, Brewster's friend, but not a member of the Pilgrim Colony, to English authorities. Brewer was finally returned to Leiden. William Brewster, the chief offender could not be located. We know now, he was actually in England at the time trying to get financial backing for another trip the Pilgrims were thinking about. He evaded detection by changing his name. Following the Dutch custom, he had probably become Master Williamson (son of William) which he was. This could explain the mysterious passenger of that name on the Mayflower list. Brewster's name does not appear until the signing of the famous compact in Cape Cod Harbor in November of 1620.

(To be continued)

Catharine Newbold, PhD., *is a retired professor of history at the State University of New York (SUNY) at Albany. A similar story of the Pilgrims appeared in the Albany Colony Chronicles several years ago. Dr. Newbold now lives at 2744 Pahqitz MacCallam Way, Apt. 324, Palm Springs, CA.*

THE Pilgrim Fathers fell upon an ungenial climate, where there were nine months of winter and three months of cold weather and that called out the best energies of men, and of the women too, to get a mere subsistance out of the soil, with such climate. In their efforts to do that, they cultivated industry and frugality at the same time — which is the real foundation of the greatness of the Pilgrims.

Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885)
Speech at New England Society Dinner
December 22, 1880

PILGRIM HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

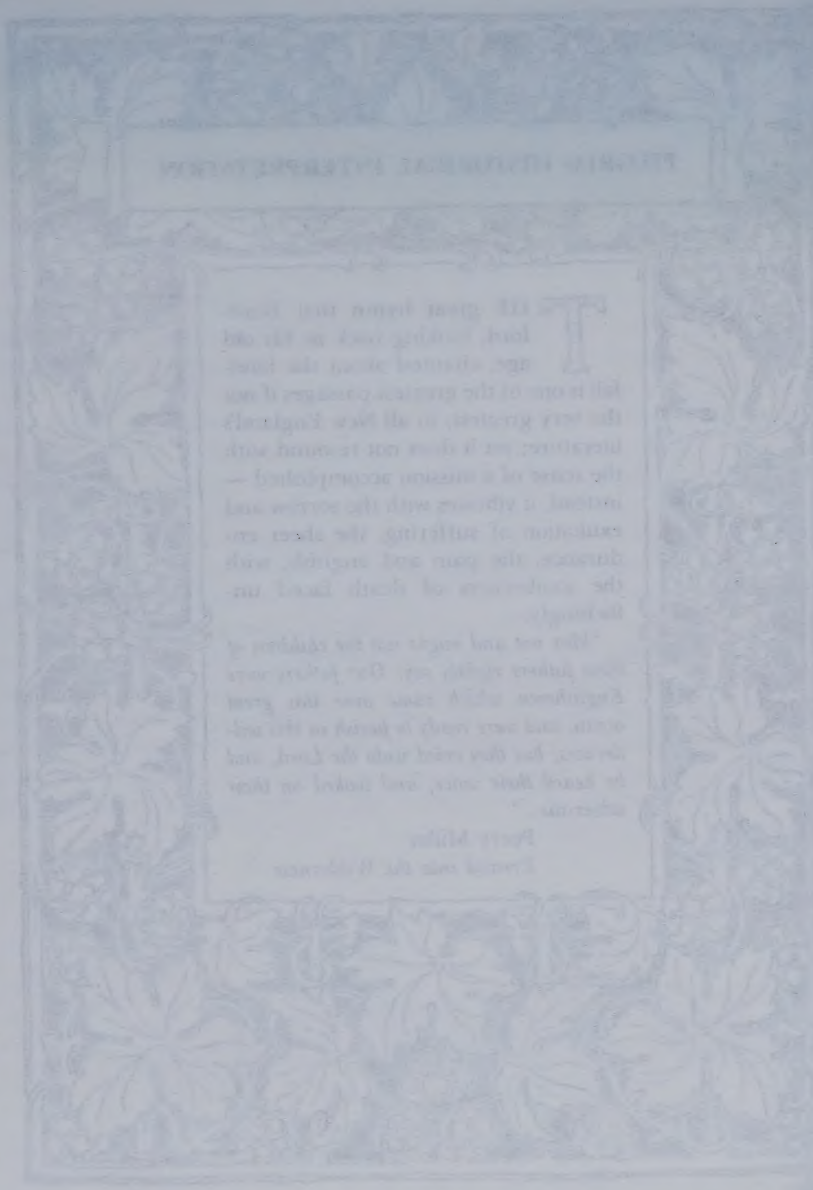
THE great hymn that Bradford, looking back in his old age, chanted about the landfall is one of the greatest passages if not the very greatest, in all New England's literature; yet it does not resound with the sense of a mission accomplished — instead, it vibrates with the sorrow and exultation of suffering, the sheer endurance, the pain and anguish, with the somberness of death faced unflichingly:

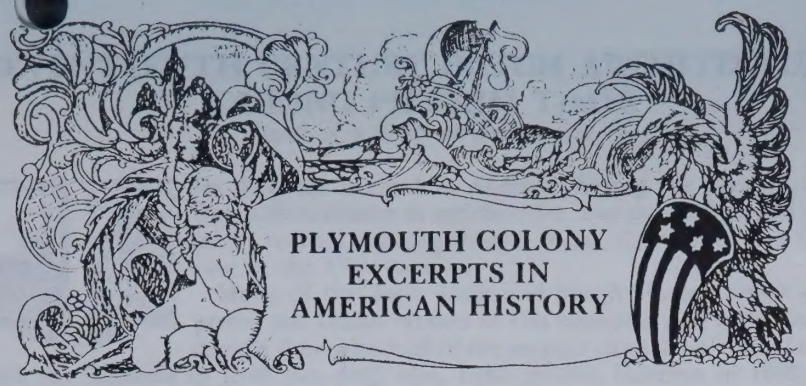
"May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say; Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice, and looked on their adversitie..."

Perry Miller
Errand into the Wilderness

PILGRIM HOMONYM

The corps *of Standish's brigade was at*
the core *of halting Merrymount's incontinence.*





THE ABSORPTION OF PLYMOUTH COLONY INTO MASSACHUSETTS

By Joseph Nelson Larned
FINAL PART VIII

A LITTLE more than a month from the overthrow of Andros, a ship from England arrived at Boston, with news of the proclamation of William and Mary. This was joyful intelligence to the body of the people. The magistrates were at once relieved from their fears, for the revolution in the Old World justified that in the New. Three days later the proclamation was published with unusual ceremony . . . . A week later the representatives of the several towns, upon a new choice, met in Boston, and proposals were made that charges should be forthwith drawn against Andros, for that all the prisoners but Andros should be liberated on bail; but both propositions were rejected. The representatives likewise urged the unconditional resumption of the Charter, declaring that they could not act on anything until this was conceded. Many opposed the motion; but it was finally adopted; and it was resolved that all the laws in force May 12, 1686, should be continued until further orders . . . Meantime, Increase Mather, who had gone to England before the Revolution, took place as agent for the colony, had procured an audience with the new king, William III, and received from his assurance that he would remove Andros from the government of New England and call him to an account for his administration. Anxious for the restoration of the old charter and its privileges, under which the colony had prospered so well, the agent appointed himself diligently to the object, advising with the wisest statement for its accomplishment. It was the concurrent judgement of all the best course would be to obtain at first a reversion of the judgement, and then apply to the king for such additional privileges as were necessary. Accordingly, in the House of Commons, where the whole subject of seizing charters in the reign of Charles II, was up for discussion, the charters of New England were inserted with the rest; and though enemies opposed the measure, it was voted that their abrogation was a grievance, and that they should be forthwith restore. But before the bill having this most satisfactory effect had been acted on in the House of Lords, the Convention Parliament was prorogued, then dissolved, and the next Parliament


Increase Mather

proved to be less friendly. An order was obtained, however from the king, continuing the government of the Colony under the old charter until the new one was settled, and requiring Andros and his fellow prisoner to be sent to England for trial . . .

. . . relinguishing all hopes to the restoration of the old grant, the king was prevailed upon to refer the affairs of a new England to the two lords chief justices and the attorney and solicitor-general, all of whom were supposed to be friendly to the applicants. Mr. Mather was permitted to attend their meetings.

Difficulties arose in connection with Plymouth colony. It was the determination in England that Plymouth should no longer be separately chartered, but should be joined to Massachusetts or New York. . . In opposing the former more natural union, the Plymouth people very nearly brought about their annexation to New York; but Mather's influence averted that result. (After many compromising proposals), nothing remained therefore but to decide whether they would submit or continue without a charter, and at the mercy of the king. Two colleagues who had been associated with Mather opposed submission, but the latter yielded, and the charter was signed.


Andros' futile attempt to escape, dressed as a woman.

By the terms of this new charter the territories of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Maine, with a tract further east, were united into one jurisdiction, whose officers were to consist of a governor, a deputy governor, and a secretary, appointed by the king, and 38 councillors, chosen by the people. A General Court was to be held annually, the last Wednesday in May, and at such other times as the governor saw fit; each town was authorized to choose two deputies to represent them in this court. The choice of these deputies was conceded to all freeholders having an estate of the value of forty pounds sterling, or land yielding an income of at least forty shillings per annum; and every deputy was to take the oath of allegiance prescribed by the crown. All residents of the province and their children were entitled to the liberties of natural born subjects; and liberty of conscience was secured to all but the Papists. . . To the governor was given a negative upon all laws enacted by the General Court; without his consent in writing none were valid; and all receiving his sanction were to be transmitted to the king for approval, and if rejected at any time within three years were to be of no effect. The governor was empowered to establish the courts, levy taxes, convene the militia, carry on war, exercise martial law, and the consent of the council, and erect and furnish all requisite forts. . .


Seal of William III

It affected a thorough revolution in the country. The form of government and objects of the body politic, were placed upon a new basis; and the dependence for the Colonies upon the crown was secured. . . It was on Saturday, the 14th of May, 1692, that Sir William Phips arrived at Boston as the first governor of the new Province (including Plymouth Colony).

In October, 1691, Plymouth was . . . rescued from the grasp of New York, but only to fall into that of Massachusetts . . . The body-politic created in the cabin of the Mayflower lived only in history.
John A. Goodwin *(Pilgrim Republic, 1888)*

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DUTCH ARCHITECTURE DURING PILGRIM TIMES

Eighth of a Series on Architecture

THE Pilgrims arrived in Holland during the zenith of the Dutch Renaissance in architecture. The new canons and prosperity revived a strong interest in the classical art and literature in the 17th century.

Many of the Town Halls and Weigh Houses, which interpreted the Dutch version of this beautiful new order, spread rapidly throughout all of the seaport cities. First, it was Leiden with the Stadhuis in 1598 (see MQ, May, 1988, p.100), Haarlem in 1602, Nijmegen in 1612, Bolsward in 1614, Workum in 1650 and numerous others. Today this old world atmosphere and charm has been unchanged for over three and a half centuries. The impressive gables and red tile roofs rise above the slender spires and belfries that are surmounted by leaden fleches and wrought iron vanes. The classical forms were interpreted by the Dutch with more French than Italian ambience, with strong Gothic traditions and a touch of Spain. There was the artful blend of stone, brick and wrought iron.

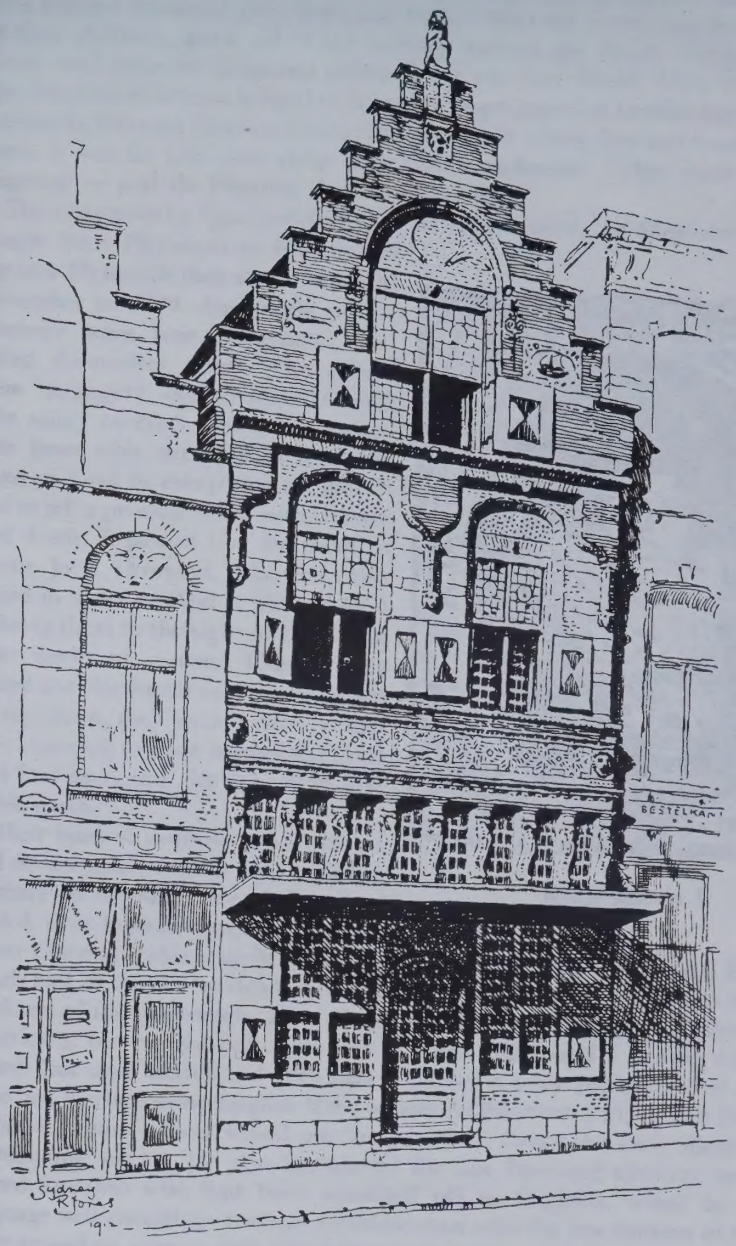
The once brisk trade of the merchants in the large ports in Europe has now passed; world trade that had its roots in the old Hanseatic League during the 13th century. The streets and canals of these old villages and cities are now quiet, except for the summer rush of tourists who enjoy a glimpse of that fascinating past. Also gone are the great masters of the Dutch school of genre art — Halls, Rembrandt, DeHooch, Vermeer, or Leys.

The Pilgrims who populated the cities of Amsterdam and Lieden are now gone; only their descendants who stayed with Robinson are now living there --along with a few hundred souls who also descend from the Mayflower passengers, but returned several generations hence.

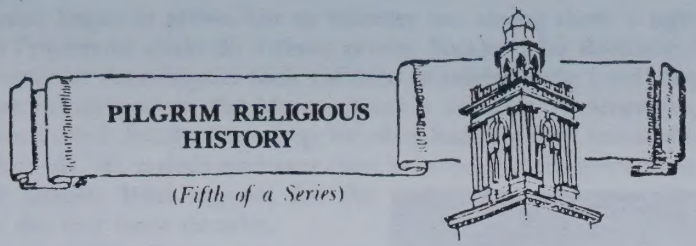
CORBEL FROM DORDRECHT

Why did not the Pilgrim Fathers become involved in this Renaissance of architecture and art when they were surrounded by it? They were probably influenced more by that enterprise than we give credit. Their homes in the New World were more than just log cabins. The wood structures in Plymouth had a unique sophistication that was not found with the first log huts of Salem or Boston. Even the steeper gable pitches reflected the Dutch model. They were, however, of a practical mind, like the reborn Christians of any era, keeping their mind and soul engaged in God's business, raising their families, avoiding the materialistic trappings and the idolatry of the world or in the state church from which they separated.

Follow some of the architectural details in Dordrecht on the next page, built in 1608, the year the Pilgrims came to Holland. The crow stepped or corbie gable is brick constructed of English bond while the brick on the first floor above the stone layer is Flemish bond. Note the corbels between the eight windows immediately above the overhang and the detail in the above paragraph. Above the row of windows is a psuedo-frieze of patterned brick and stone flanked by two lion heads with a center motif of a salmon. Three additional stone corbels balance the pair of single mullioned windows with basket-handle arches of decorative stone and a transom of soldier staked brick. The top window has a Norman arch with a trifoil design of French influence. Also note the small wrought-iron merchant identification symbols on each side of the highest window. These iron symbols are re-enforced by the salmon and ship stone bas-reliefs to the side of each window. Obviously, the building was for the commercial fishing trade.



DORDRECHT, SOUTH HOLLAND (DATED 1608)



PILGRIMS UNTO A NEW LAND

by Dr. Martin E. Marty

RELIGION played a much larger, perhaps dominant role in these New England pilgrimages. Lovers of freedom, they came to find it — and then hurried to establish their newfound freedom by ruling out dissenters. People of the convenant, they believed that God had called them to do this work. As they read their Bibles, they saw themselves as the Israelites in God's master plan. While their policies of church establishment did not endure unchanged, the seriousness with which they set out and the depth of their convictions gave their settlements the position of most importance for later America.

Gold and the passage to India were not on the minds of New Englanders — unlike the pioneers in New Spain, New France, and, to some extent, Virginia. They did have to support themselves and, believing firmly in godly gain, came to plant a wilderness as their example to the world. These separatists who first came to little Plymouth colony were also called variously independents or congregationalists because of their attitudes toward the Church of England and their insistence that only local authorities could rule the congregation. Church of England worship, back home or in Virginia, was to them "flat idolatry."

In Elizabethan England, these exiles from the official church prayed and worshiped in homes. William Bradford and other strong lay leaders taught them to think of themselves as a biblical people, bound by their covenant with their God. No longer should English people simply inherit their established religion. They must dare to take matters into their hands and *own* the divine covenant.

King James vowed to make these deviants conform or he would *harry them out of the land or else do worse*. Yet they found it difficult to find a way to flee from the profane multitude that harassed them in their gatherings at the manor house of William Brewster at Scrooby. These educated and sometimes properous people, knowing they had much to lose, prepared to lose it by booking a ship onto which they sneaked one night in 1607. Someone betrayed them before they could leave for Holland and religious freedom. Officers searched the men's shirts for money, *yea even the women further than became modesty*. They tried to escape again a few months later, but only some husbands and fathers eluded authorities. The families of these pesky believers were then permitted to join them.

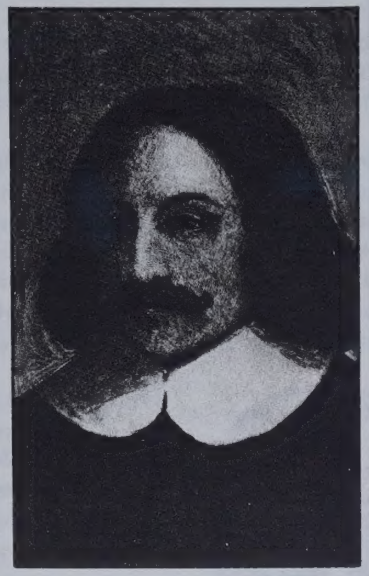
Their haven, Amsterdam, was rather tolerant, but its diversity threatened their close community, so they settled in the university town of Leyden. Brewster and their beloved Reverend John Robinson helped bind the group together, but some of their children, attracted to the worldly ways of the Dutch, tugged at those bonds until someone proposed settlement in the New World. After much travail they left John Robinson behind to keep the congregation at Leyden together while a minority followed Bradford from the goodly city where they had lived for twelve years. It was he who gave them their classic nickname: "They knew they were pilgrims" — and *the* Pilgrims they have remained.

The unseaworthy *Speedwell* and then its replacement, the *Mayflower*, took 102 people from Plymouth in England to the new Plymouth they would reach in November in 1620. Amazingly, only a minority were true "pilgrims," who called themselves saints. The others were "strangers" out to make money. The saints covered their understandable fears with attempts to read the hand of God in everything. *It pleased God* to fell a profane sailor with disease and death. *It pleased God* for them to rescue John Howland, who fell overboard in a storm. And it pleased God to bring them to the sight of Cape Cod after weeks of storms. Though they lacked any document authorizing them to stay there, they settled nearby anyhow, choosing to leave behind the "vast and furious ocean" for "the firm and stable earth."

King James I

Their land of promise was a *hideous and desolate wilderness*, so they huddled offshore on the *Mayflower*. Before they settled, their factions agreed on a Mayflower Compact, which spelled out the terms of a covenanted society. By spring nearly half of them were dead, buried in graves unmarked lest Indians notice the weakness of the newcomers. Like all other newcomers, they worried about native Americans, but caught only glimpses of them and found a nearby village deserted. Not until March did they find out from a stray Indian named Samoset (who had learned some English from occasional fishermen) that about four years earlier a disease almost wiped out his people — hence the eerie silence in the surrounding woods. He also introduced the last Pawtuxet survivor, an Indian named Squanto who had been snatched off to England, where he learned language well enough to serve as a middle man with the few Indians in the area. They agreed on a treaty with Chief Massasoit that lasted half a century. A sign of the amity between the two peoples was evident when they gathered for not the first but the best remembered day of thanksgiving in North American history.

More colonists began to arrive, but no minister was among them, a sign that these radical Protestants could do without priests. Stickler John Robinson, however, would never let them baptize their children or celebrate the Lord's Supper, the Protestant counterpart to the Mass, without a minister. A clergyman, the Reverend John Lyford, finally showed up, but they found him an immoral misfit and packed him off. Yet so dedicated were these believers that the government did not have to provide legal support for the churches for the first three decades.



Governor William Bradford

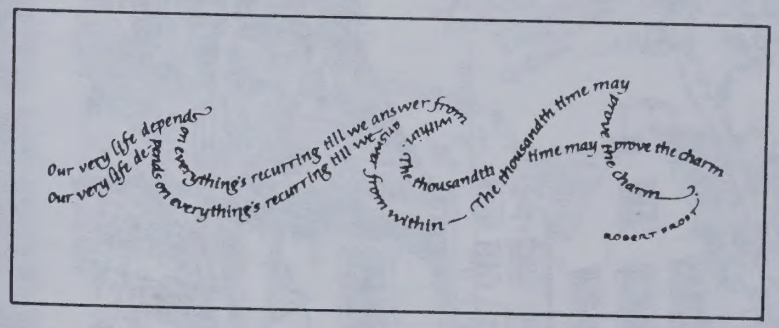
Back in Leyden John Robinson had given the separatists an image for community: just as people do not want their houses shaken before the foundations are settled and the parts "firmly knit," so pilgrim people must beware of novelties or oppositions that would shake the house of God "which you are an are to be." Yet novelty kept appearing relentlessly from the lips of stray Lyfordites, Baptists, and Quakers who later visited the wilderness community. So did immoralities. In 1642 the Pilgrims executed Thomas Graunger on charges of bestiality that they spelled out with Puritan precision: with a mare, a cow, two goats, diverse sheep, two calves, and a turkey. The colonists almost lost control of their emotions when Thomas Morton at Merry Mount set up drunken orgies. He encouraged coupling with Indians, set up a maypole, and sold alcohol and guns to the Indians. Bradford, now governor, had to send Captain Miles Standish to ship Morton back to England.

Bradford during his thirty years of service kept explaining the failings of his "firmly knit" community. The devil, he wrote, carried the greatest spite against the holy and pure churches of Christ and wanted to run them. But it was commerce and politics that worked hardest against Plymouth. The colony was doomed to be swallowed by Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which had royal charters as it did not. It became clear that America had no permanent separate room for a free and "firmly knit," exclusive community. The migrants fell out with each other; they had to endure the arrival of sects and individuals.

In his great journal, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, Bradford spelled out how New England should be remembered as if it were ancient Israel: *May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice, and looked on their adversity.* Out of small beginnings, he wrote, the hand of God produced greater things, and the light kindled in Plymouth would shine to the whole nation. Yet he was doleful. This poor church of his colony was left like an ancient mother grown old and forsaken of her children. "Thus she that had made many rich became herself poor."

Some of the "riches" she left became themes in American mythology: Thanksgiving Day, Plymouth Rock, pictures of Pilgrims heading for worship with guns and dogs at their side, a colony for tourists, a passion for lay leadership in religion, a love for independence, and the very name Pilgrim, which in songs sung in the *land of the Pilgrim's pride* came to stand for all the settlers, not just these few.

The excerpt is from Pilgrims in Their Own Land, *Little Brown, 1984, by Dr. Martin Marty. Dr. Marty is the Editor of* Christian Century *and a Distinguished Professor of Modern Christianity at the University of Chicago; he holds the Fairfax M. Cone chair. His business address is* Christian Century, *407 South Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60605.*



CONTEMPORARY PILGRIM QUOTATION

Democracy is not a natural form of government; it is supernatural, relying on a dynamic Judeo-Christian ethos to provide the continual spiritual renewal needed to inspire naturally selfish men to selflessness.

Rev. Peter Marshall, Jr. (1940-
From Sea to Shining Sea, 1986

Governor William Bradford

THE PILGRIMS' CHURCH IN AMSTERDAM

by Katharine Little
Chairman of Historical Sites

TOTALLY surrounded by quaint linked three or four story Dutch houses and a museum, the diminutive English Reformed Church in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, can be reached only by an unobtrusive passageway built between two of the houses.

Here in the former Begijnhof (almshouse established in the 14th Century by the Beguines) Courtyard may be found its Chapel which has been memorialized by a tablet near the Chancel which names the English Separatists—dissenters Henry Ainsworth, Francis Johnson, John Robinson, William Brewster and William Bradford as being "One in Christ" who *By a joint consent . . . resolved to go into the Low Countries where they heard was freedom of Religion for all men and lived at Amsterdam.*

There are two additional memorials in this Church which was originally known as the *Ancient Church.* Just outside the entrance door is a bronze tablet giving "tribute to the Pilgrim Fathers . . .*a shining exemplar of civil and religious liberty, many of whose institutions transmitted to America through the English Pilgrims . . . have given to the New World a distinctive character.*"

The other memorial is a handsome stained glass window directly over the altar which was given by Mr. Edward Bok, an American of Dutch descent, showing the prayerful leave-talking of the Pilgrims from Delfshaven on 1st August, 1620, for the New World. This dominating window was given to commemorate the 300th anniversary of their departure.

It is well worth searching out on the *Spui* this historic Church which signifies and memorializes the spirit and purpose of our Pilgrim Fathers. Many unusual and interesting objects may be studied here, including a pulpit with four panels designed by Piet Mondriann in 1898. In 1974 and 1975 the building was restored, reopened and rededicated by the Queens of Great Britain and The Netherlands.

I persuade myself, never people upon earth lived more lovingly, and parted more sweetly than we, the Church at Leyden, did. Not rashly, in a distracted humor; but, upon joint and serious deliberation, often seeking the mind of God, by fasting and prayer: whose gracious presence we not only found with us; but his blessing upon us from that time to this instant: to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of ourselves.

— EDWARD WINSLOW (1595-1655)
Plymouth Colony Governor

THE PILGRIMS IN HOLLAND

(Part III)

By Dr. Catherine Newbold

THE records in the Leiden Archives give us more bits of information about the Pilgrims in Holland than does Bradford's History. One entry reads: "November 13, 1613, William Bradford, Fustian worker, age 23, married Dorothea May, age 16. Bradford, at 31 would be governor of the Plymouth Plantation. Dorothea fell or jumped overboard and drowned as the Mayflower neared the Massachusetts shore. Numerous entries of admission to the Pilgrim church are recorded probably because of marriage to a Pilgrim, but less reassuring to the Pilgrims are the records of admission to Dutch citizenship. The fullest records are the death notices. "In 1614 Robert Cushman lost one child March 11, his wife, Sarah, on October 11 and another child at the end of the month." Another entry reads, "June 29, 1615, Poor Fuller buried a child and laid his wife beside it four days later." But apparently the Pilgrims resisted the unpleasant refugee propensity to complain. For Bradford wrote . . . "They knew they were Pilgrims and looked not much on those things."

There were of course, brighter pages in the records. February 17, 1615, Thomas Brewer matriculated at the University at the age 35. According to the Burgomaster's Day Book, John Robinson was also granted permission to study theology on August 5 of that same year. His age was given as 38. Admission to the University carried with it certain rights, privileges, and immunities which in those days, in contrast to ours, meant something. One of the rights protected Brewer when King James wanted him extradited for salicious printing. Exemption from guard duty and certain taxes were among the immunities, and one of the privileges was a full allowance of wine and beer.

The fact that freedom to worship according to their own light dominated the Pilgrims' lives suggests a consideration of the manner in which they conducted their devotions. From their own descriptions we have a good account of their services. First came a prayer and thanksgiving by the pastor or teacher. Then followed the reading of two or three chapters from the Bible, "with brief explanations of the same as the time may serve." At this point everyone joined in singing psalms. Then came the climax of the service - the long sermon, followed by more singing and on certain days the celebrating of the Lord's Supper and baptisms when there were candidates. Last of all a collection for support of the officers and the poor. Bradford says of the time spent in Church, "The morning exercise begins at eight o'clock and continues until twelve; the like courses and exercise is observed in the afternoon from two until five or six. Last of all the execution of the government is handled."

Such heroic schedules allotted precious little time for Sunday afternoon naps. Our generation which expects its religious services to be squeezed into a time capsule of one hour, would enthusiastically agree with those Pilgrims who modestly described themselves by saying, "It is not with us as with other men." Yet despite, or perhaps because of the way life had settled down, the Pilgrims grew increasingly restless. In several respects they were disappointed in their Dutch experiment. They had found Leiden a beautiful city and remembered the Dutch with gratitude later but several considerations impelled them to make plans for leaving for the New World.

To begin with their tiny community didn't grow; the expected wanes of migration were never realized perhaps because of the stories of hardships and privations which they suffered which reached England. As Bradford put it, "Few would come to them and fewer still would bide it out and continue with them. Yes, some preferred and chose prison in England to liberty in Holland." One of the strongest reasons for leaving Holland was that the Pilgrims were Englishmen and they wanted to remain Englishmen, but the early Leiden settlers reluctantly saw themselves drawn into the Dutch community from which they had wished to remain apart. Family conflicts arose as the children grew up more Dutch than English - sons were running off to join the Dutch army or find employment in the Dutch navy and girls were growing up to marry Dutch boys and leave the colony. Edward Winslow summarized it thus: "How like we were to lose our language and our name of English; how little good we did or were like to do to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath; hour unable there to give such education to our children as we ourselves had received." Some, no doubt, were impelled to leave Leiden by the knowledge that the long truce with Spain, which the Pilgrims had interpreted as a happy omen upon their arrival now approached its expiration (1609-1621), and they feared the resumption of war. Leiden of all places in Holland had good reason to know what the Spanish threat meant. The Pilgrims had heard too much of the early struggle to wish to participate in its renewal. Spain might well prove as cruel as the savages they had heard about in America. As one nervous Pilgrim wrote, "There was nothing but beating of drums and preparing for war." (War between Holland and Spain was resumed in 1621.) Not least among the reasons for abandoning the experiment Dutch and seeking a new home in the New World was the desire to found a church based on the principle of

THE CHURCH AT DELFTHAVEN, WHERE THE PILGRIM FATHERS HELD THEIR LAST SERVICE IN HOLLAND

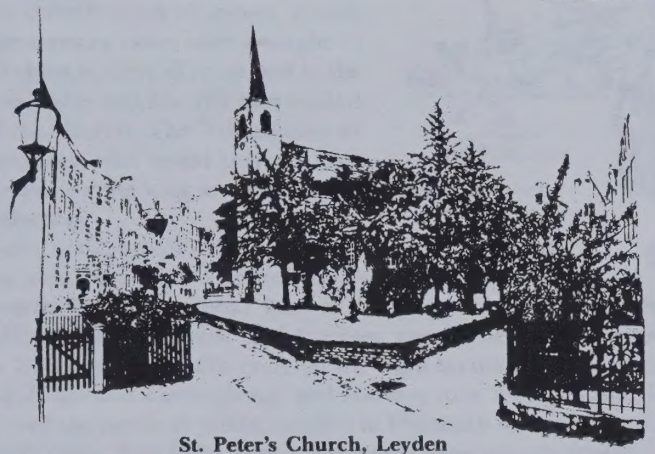
freedom of worship. In the beginning the Pilgrims had hoped to return to England to accomplish this, but as James I tightened his control over the Church of England this prospect grew dim.

The Pilgrims did not underestimate the hardships they must yet endure. The Netherlands was a center for the publication of illustrated travel literature. The Pilgrims had a wide choice of literature from which to acquire a healthy respect for the Indians and an aversion to taking up a new abode within reach of the Spaniards in the New World. Bradford assures us that "they decided not out of any new fangledness or other such like giddy humor but for sundry weighty and solid reasons." He is at pains to affirm that they were not driven from Holland, but left from choice.

In the years 1617-1620 William Brewster as principal agent carried on lengthy and for the most part unsatisfactory negotiations with the Virginia Company which had established Jamestown over a land grant and permission to found a colony. He also sought financial backing from English merchants and interviewed government officials regarding a proposed colony seeking always not to compromise his religion. In a surprise move in 1620 a group of London merchants offered financial support and a charter for colonization which they had already procured from the Virginia Company. Toward the end of July 1620 everything was ready and the final pilgrimage began. From the lips of their beloved pastor, John Robinson, the Pilgrims heard the last sermon they would ever hear from him. Since only a minority of his congregation voted to go to the New World, he felt an obligation to stay with the majority in Leiden.

By barges the Pilgrims proceeded from the Nun's Bridge along the quiet waters of the Uliet, through the Dutch pastures and gardens that lined the water, then along the road from the Hague to Delft, past the Old Kurk and the Prerecelof and finally the last ten miles to Delfshaven near Rotterdam where they boarded the *Speedwell* which took them to England.

Continued on page 396



St. Peter's Church, Leyden

Catharine Newbold, PhD., *is a retired professor of history at the State University of New York (SUNY) at Albany. A similar story of the Pilgrims appeared in the Albany Colony Chronicles several years ago. Dr. Newbold now lives at 2744 Pahqitz MacCallam Way, Apt. 324, Palm Springs, CA.*

CARTOGRAPHY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Seventh of a Series

THE 1702 MAGNALIA MAP

by Eileen Creevey Hall

THE map in the inside back fold-out is known as either the Mather Map or the Magnalia Map. The map first appeared in the ecclesiastical history of New England, called *Magnalia Christi Americana*, by Cotton Mather of the Bay Colony and published by Thomas Parkhurst of London, England in 1702. The book is considered his greatest of many works.

Mather's book (Latin translation: Ecclesiastical History of America) contains the mythical history of Puritanism in the New World. The first of the two volumes called "Antiquities" first contains reports "the design where-on, the manner where-in, and the people where-by, the several colonies of New England were planted." The second part contains the lives of the Governors and the magistrates of New England beginning with an "In Memoriam" to William Bradford of Plymouth Colony. The third part presents the lives of "sixty famous divines." This is the section that contains the illustrated map which is in the back inside fold-out of this issue (page 397-398).

Volume II begins with the history of Harvard College, "the acts and monuments" of the New England churches, their discipline and principles, and the records of numerous "illustrious discoveries and demonstrations of "Divine Providence including sea-deliverances." The volume also contains confessional speeches of those executed for capital crimes, and concludes with "the wonders of the invisible world, in preternatural occurrences..." The last Volume's title is "A Book of the Wars of the Lord" that presents the early religious controversies with "molestations given to the churches of New England by the 'odd' sect of people called Quakers and a history of the Indian Wars."*

Surprisingly, the book does not refer to the map in the text nor did Cotton Mather know the map was to be included. Two subsequent editions omit the map entirely. It is interesting to note that Deerfield (Pocuntuck) does not appear on this map. Squakheag is shown instead on the West side of an Easternly bend in the Connecticut River in about the same site as Greenfield. Squakheag is definitely in the area reserved for Northfield which is further north on the east side of the river. Swampfield is mistakedly called Swanfield; the old name was Sunderland. The map shows a most accurate interpretation of the ocean shoreline and rivers.

---

*One secular literature professor calls the book "a product of a dogmatic, neurotic, tyrannical clergyman who failed to discriminate between facts and legends, the laws and the superstitions . . . giving as much weight to accounts of witches and repentant criminals as does to the church leaders . . . the book is taken not as a history, but as an impassioned product of the Puritan character in all of its dedication and its blindness. . ."

This is another unfortunate and superficial interpretation of a 20th century educator using contemporary psyche in judging the 17th century mind; the secular interpreter also does not acknowledge other schools of historical interpretation that includes religious history. True, it is accepted that there is much superstition in the text (particularly the Salem witchhunt period) but it still must be read with a 17th century mindset. The Editor.

PILGRIM MUSIC

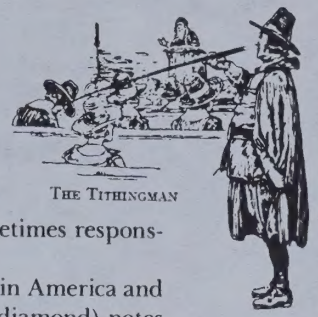
Third of a Series*

PILGRIM church services, with the music, Bible readings, and sermons, were the spiritual substance of the Colony. The music was chanted in simple style of plain-song, a style resembling the single melody of psalms today without any polyphony as with the Latin ritual. Many music textbooks have claimed the music was dull, tedious and unrythmical; that may be by our standards, but it was not with the Colony members, except for a few difficult psalms. To quote Edward Winslow who best reflects the deep significance of the music. *We refreshed ourselves with the singing of psalms making a joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music, and indeed it was the sweetest music that mine ears ever heard.*

The music might not have been the sweetest music to our ears, for there were no organs or choirs; however, there were pitch-pipes to set the key. Instruments, of course, were not used, for they were considered too decorus. Still, because there was participation by everyone, and not a performance that was only listened to, the enthusiasm and sincerity were ever as great, if not greater, than today. Our 20th century minds and ears have long been accustomed to the hymns and carols, motets, chorales, and anthems of today's churches including the oratories of Bach and Hayden, who were not even yet born.

Many churches did not have a Psalm Book for everyone, so the Minister or Deacon "lined" the psalm, meaning that he would first read the line, and the congregation would then respond to it.

After the reading of the second Psalm was the offertory where contributions of money, goods, wampum, or promissory notes were brought to the front of the church; then all remained in the pews until the minister and his wife had walked to the back of the church. The Tithingman of the Puritan Churches, who would keep the parishioners awake during the long sermons, was sometimes responsible for the collection.



THE TITHINGMAN

The 1690 Psalm book, one of the first published in America and pictured on the next page, had diagonal square (diamond) notes like the Ainsworth Hymnal without bars or harmony. Five of the tunes, *Old Hundredth***, *Martyrs, York, Windsor* and *Hackney*, were generally well known as they are today. Note that the Psalm book on the right mentions the *Martyrs* tune for the *Songs of Praise and Thanksgiving*, and *Hackney* tune for the 119th Psalm. These tunes served the needs of public worship in Plymouth for seventy years and in Salem for forty years. Two Psalms were commonly sung at each service, as was the order of service laid down by the Separatists in Holland. The Pilgrim Hymnal still contains the Old Hundredth and Windsor tunes. The Old One Hundredth is used by all denominations as the Doxology. The Windsor tune is set to the words of Harriet Beecher Stowe in today's hymnal.

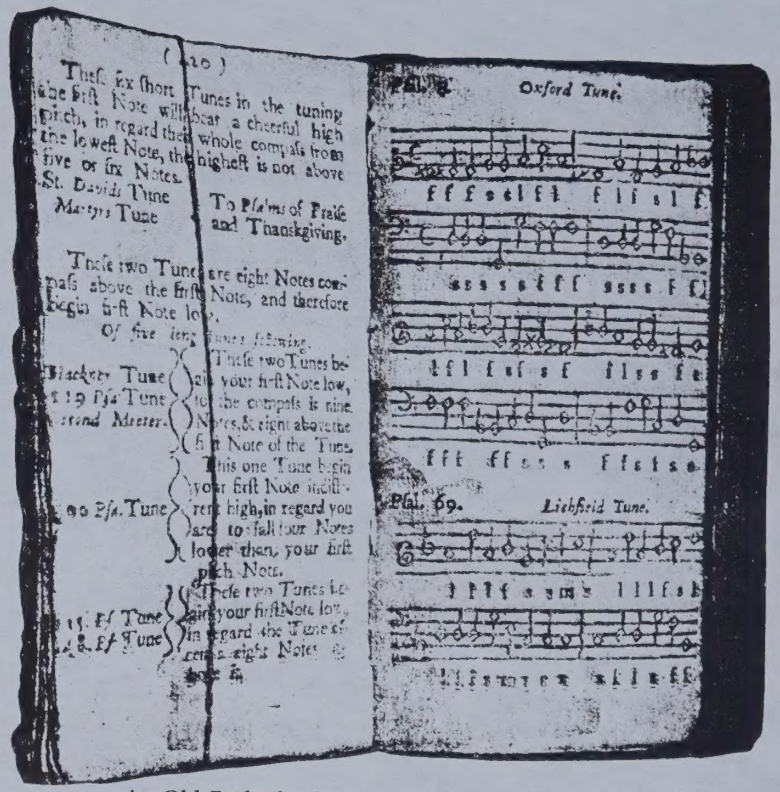
On May 17, 1685, the church records of Plymouth show the first depa[illegible] in the Ainsworth Psalter. It states *The Elder stayed in the church after public wo[illegible] was ended, and moved to sing Psalm 130 in another translation, because in Mr. Ainsworth's translation, which we sang, the tune was so difficult few could follow it — the church readily consented thereto.*

Following the music, the Sermon, as mentioned before, was often two or more hours long. When the First Church of Woburn was dedicated, the sermon was told to be five hours long. The Pilgrim sermons of Elder William Brewster those first years were probably an hour in length.

---

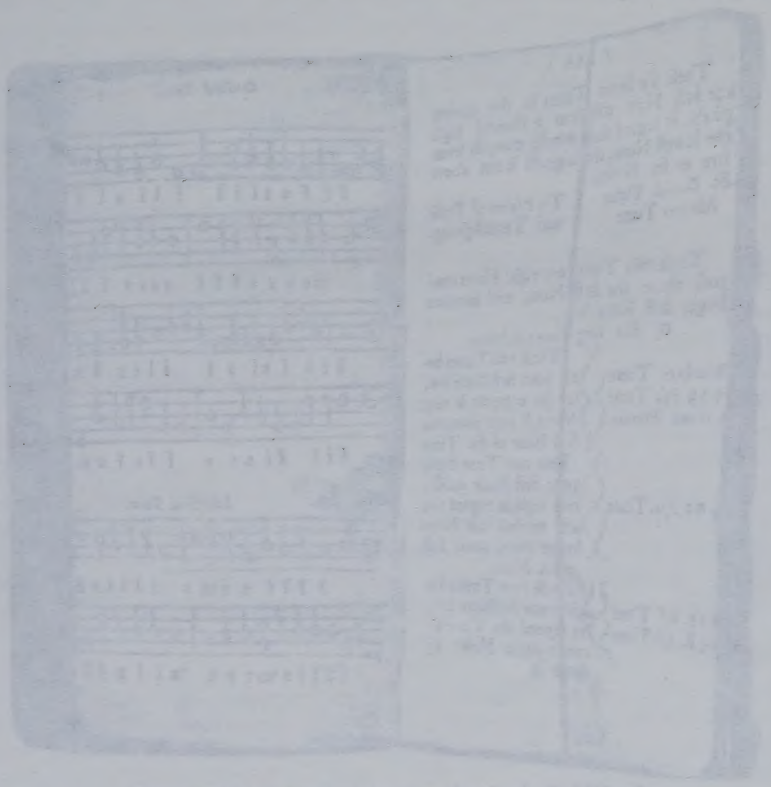
*The two former Pilgrim Music articles, America and Song of Thanksgiving, and The Ainsworth Psalter, appeared in the November 1987 (Vol. 55, pp. 262-3) and February 1989 (Vol. 53, pp. 66-7) Mayflower Quarterlies. The latter article about the Psalter is a good companion to this article.

**The Old Hundredth is in the hymnal of every denomination as the Doxology. One of the first printings was in the 1554 Theodore Beza'a Edition of the Genevan Psalter. It was adopted before this time by the English refugees to Germany and Switzerland during Bloody Mary's reign.



An Old Psalm-book printed in Boston during 1690

Note that the printing quality does not compare to the Ainsworth Psalter used by the Pilgrims (see MQ, Feb 1989, pp. 66-67); however, it is still an authorized text within the combined efforts of the Puritans and the Pilgrims within the Congregational church. The Editor presumes this is a copy of the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter, *taken from much older texts, thus the* Ainsworth Psalter *of the Pilgrims was an improvement over the newer 1690 book of the Puritans.*



List of Mayflower Passengers and Crew

(2 pages)

Reproduced on antiqued parchment that looks and feels authentically old.

+ $1.75

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PASSENGERS ON THE MAYFLOWER

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PASSENGERS ON THE MAYFLOWER

John Alden. Became one of the prominent men. Came from England as a cooper, married Priscilla Mullins, had eleven children, and died in Duxbury in 1687 at the age of 87.

Isaac Allerton. One of the Leyden congregation, and a prominent man in the Colony, assistant Governor and agent to England. After his wife's death, married a daughter of Elder Brewster, and died in New Haven in 1659.

Mrs. Mary Allerton. His wife. Died the first winter.

Bartholomew Allerton. His son. Returned to England.

Mary Allerton. A daughter. Married Elder Thos. Cushman, Robert Cushman's son, and had eight children. She was the last survivor of those who left England in the "Mayflower," and died in 1699 in Plymouth.

Remember Allerton. Went to Salem and died there in 1652.

John Allerton. (Or Alderton). Probably not related to above, was hired in England as a sailor, and died the first winter.

John Billington. Came from London. Was hanged for murder in 1630.

Mrs. Ellen Billington. Married again and died in 1650.

John Billington. His son. Died before 1630.

Francis Billington. A son. Married and had ten children and died in Middleboro in 1684.

William Bradford. Was one of the original congregation at Scrooby. He was Governor from April, 1621, until his death in 1657, at the age of 69, every year excepting 1633, 1634, 1636, 1638 and 1644. A few years after his first wife's death he married Alice Southworth and had four children.

Mrs. Dorothy Bradford. Drowned in Provincetown Harbor December, 1620.

William Brewster. One of the founders of the Scrooby congregation, was the Elder of the Pilgrim Church until his death in 1643, at the age of 80.

Mrs. Mary Brewster. Died before 1627.

Love Brewster. A son. Died in 1650, leaving four children.

Wrasling Brewster. A son. Died a young man.

Richard Britterige. Died the first winter.

Peter Browne. Married twice, and had two children by each wife. Died in 1633.

William Butten. The servant of Samuel Fuller. Died at sea.

Robert Carter. A servant of William Mullins. Died the first winter.

John Carver. One of the Leyden congregation who was employed as their agent in England. Was the first Governor of the colony until his death in April, 1621.

Mrs. Katherine Carver. His wife. Died the first summer.

Richard Clarke. Died the first winter.

James Chilton. Died the first winter.

Mrs. James Chilton. Died the first winter.

Mary Chilton. Married John Winslow, a brother of Edward. They had ten children and she died in Boston in 1679.

Francis Cooke. Died in Plymouth in 1663.

John Cooke. His son, lived till 1698. Next to Mary Allerton, the last survivor of the "Mayflower" passngers.

Humility Cooper. A child who came over with Edward Tilley, and was sent back to England.

John Crakston. Died the first winter.

John Crakston. His son. Lost himself in the woods and died from the exposure in 1628.

Edward Dotey. Married and had nine children. Died in Plymouth in 1655.

Francis Eaton. Married twice after the death of his first wife and by the third wife had three children.

Mrs. Sarah Eaton. Died the first winter.

Samuel Eaton. A baby. Married and had six children. Died in Middleboro in 1684.

——— **Ely.** Hired to remain in the colony a year as a seaman. Returned to England when time was up.

Thomas English. Died the first winter.

Moses Fletcher. Died the first winter.

Edward Fuller. Died the first year.

Mrs. Edward Fuller. Died the first year.

Samuel Fuller. Their son Married and had nine children. Died in Barnstable in 1683.

Samuel Fuller. He was the doctor of the colony. One of the Leyden congregation. His wife came over later, and they had three children. He died in 1633.

Richard Gardiner. He became a seaman, and left the colony. Died elsewhere.

John Goodman. Died the first winter.

William Holbeck. Died the first winter.

John Hooke. A servant boy. Joined the party in England. Died the first winter.

Steven Hopkins. Joined the party in England. One of the leading men. Had nine children. Died in 1644.

Mrs. Elizabeth Hopkins. His wife. Died sometime after 1640.

Constanta Hopkins. A daughter. Married and had twelve children. Died at Eastham in 1677.

Damaris Hopkins. A daughter. Married. Died in Plymouth.

Giles Hopkins. A son. Married and had ten children. Died in Yarmouth, 1690.

John Howland. One of the Leyden congregation. Served at times as assistant to the Governor. Married Elizabeth Tilley, and had ten children. Died in Plymouth,

John Langemore. Died the first winter.

1673. Baptized in Fen Stanton, England, 1602.

William Latham. A boy. Remained here about twenty years. Returned to England, thence to Bahamas. where he starved.

Edward Lister. Went to Virginia.

Edmund Margeson. Died the first winter.

Christopher Martin. A religious sympathizer living in England, who was instrumental in arranging the voyage. Died the first winter.

Mrs. Christopher Martin. Died the first winter.

Desire Minter. A girl who came with the Carver family, but returned to England.

Ellen More. A little girl. Died the first winter.

Jasper More. A child. Died in Provincetown Harbor.

Richard More. A boy. Married and had seven children. Died in Salem, 1698.

——— More. His brother. Died the first winter.

William Mullins. Died the first winter.

Mrs. William Mullins. Died the first winter.

Priscilla Mullins. Married John Alden. Died after 1650.

Joseph Mullins. A son. Died the first winter.

Digory Priest. Probably one of the Leyden congregation. Died the first winter.

Solomon Prower. Died the first winter.

John Rigdale. Died the first winter.

Mrs. Alice Rigdale. His wife. Died the first winter.

Thomas Rogers. Died the first winter.

Joseph Rogers. His son. Married and had eight children. Died in Eastham, 1678.

Henry Sampson. A child. Married and had nine children. Died in Duxbury, 1684.

George Soule. Married and had nine children. Died in Duxbury, 1680.

Myles Standish. Joined the Pilgrims at Leyden. Was a professional soldier and came in charge of military affairs. Two years after death of first wife married again and had numerous children, of whom four lived to maturity. Died in Duxbury, 1656.

Mrs. Rose Standish. Died the first winter.

Elias Story. Died the first winter.

Edward Thompson. Died in Provincetown Harbor.

Edward Tilley. One of the Leyden congregation. Died the first winter.

Mrs. Ann Tilley. Died the first winter.

John Tilley. One of the Leyden congregation. Died the first winter.

Mrs. John Tilley. Died the first winter.

Elizabeth Tilley. Daughter of John Tilley. Married John Howland. Died in 1687.

Thomas Tinker. Died the first winter.

Mrs. Thomas Tinker. Died the first winter.

——— Tinker. A son. Died the first winter.

William Trevor. Hired as seaman for a year. Returned to England when time was up.

John Turner. Died the first winter.

——— Turner. A son. Died the first winter.

——— Turner. A son. Died the first winter.

William White. One of the Leyden congregation. Died the first winter.

Mrs. Susannah White. Married Edward Winslow. Died in Marshfield, 1680.

Resolved White. A son, married and had eight children. Died in Salem after 1680.

Richard Warren. Joined the party in England, one of the leading men. His wife, Jane, came over later and they had seven children. He died in 1628.

Roger Wilder. Died the first winter.

Thomas Williams. Died the first winter.

Edward Winslow. Joined the Pilgrims in Leyden and was prominent throughout the formation of the colony. Went as agent back to England in 1623, 1624 and several times later. He was Governor in 1633, 1636 and 1644. He did not return to New England after 1646, but entered the service of Cromwell, and died in 1655 on a trip to the West Indies. After his first wife died he married Susannah White and left two living children.

Mrs. Elizabeth Winslow. His wife. Died the first winter.

Gilbert Winslow. His brother. Stayed here a number of years and then returned to England.

A maid servant of John Carver. Married here, but died in a year or two.

Born on the Voyage

Oceanus Hopkins. Born at sea. Died in 1621.

Peregrine White. Born at Provincetown. Married and had seven children. Died in 1704.

LIST OF PASSENGERS ON THE "FORTUNE," THE "ANNE" AND "LITTLE JAMES"

Fortune

John Adams
William Basset
William Beale
Edward Bumpus
Jonathan Brewster
Clement Briggs
John Cannon
William Conner
Robert Cushman
Thomas Cushman
Stephan Dean
Philip De le Noye
Thomas Flavell
Widow Ford
Robert Hicks
William Hilton
Bennet Morgan
Thomas Morton
Austin Nicolas
William Palmer
William Pit
Thomas Prince
Moses Simonson
Hugh Statie
James Steward
William Tench
John Winslow
William Wright

Anne and Little James

Anthony Annable
Jane Annable
Sarah Annable
Hannah Annable
Edward Bangs
Thomas Clarke
Fear Brewster
Patience Brewster
Mary Buckett
Edward Burcher
Mrs. Burcher
Robert Bartlett

Christopher Conant
Hester Cooke
Cuthbert Cuthbertson,
wife and four children
Anthony Dix
John Faunce
Goodwife Flavell
Edmund Flood
Bridget Fuller
William Hilton, Jr.
Timothy Hatherly
William Heard
Margaret Hicks,
three children
Mrs. William Hilton
Edward Holeman
John Jenney,
wife and three children
Robert Long
Experience Mitchell
George Morton
Patience Morton
Nathaniel Morton
John Morton
Sarah Morton
Ephraim Morton
George Morton, Jr.
Thomas Morton, Jr.
Ellen Newton
John Oldham
Francis Palmer
Christian Penn
Joshua Pratt
James Rand
Robert Ratcliffe and
wife
Nicholas Snow
Alice Southworth
Francis Sprague,
wife and child
Barbara Standish
Thomas Tilden
Stephen Tracey and wife
Sarah Tracey
Ralph Wallen and wife
Elizabeth Warren
Mary Warren
Ann Warren
Sarah Warren
Elizabeth Warren
Abigail Warren

In ye name of God Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subiects of our dread soueraigne Lord King Iames by ye grace of God, of great Britaine, franc, & Ireland king defender of ye faith, &c

Haueing vndertaken, for ye glorie of God, and aduancement of ye christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first Colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia. Doe by these presents solemnly & mutualy in ye presence of God, and one of another, Couenant, & combine our selues togeather into a Ciuill body politick; for our better ordering, & preseruation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue heerof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & conuenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie: Vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we haue hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Codd ye .11. of Nouember, in ye year of ye raigne of our soueraigne Lord king Iames of England, France, & Ireland ye eighteenth and of Scotland ye fifty fourth. Anno Dom. 1620.

Part of the *Mayflower* Compact.

The Mayf

Verno

X the Pages

Secretaries
1636–1644 Nathaniel Souther
1645–1684 Nathaniel Morton
1685–1686 Nathaniel Clarke
1687–1692 Samuel Sprague

Treasurers
1636–1651 William Paddy
1652–1655 Miles Standish
1656–1658 John Alden
1659–1679 Constant Southworth
1680–1686 William Bradford the younger

Ruling Elders
at Amsterdam 1608–1609 William Brewster
Leyden 1609–1620 William Brewster
Plymouth 1620–1643 William Brewster
1649–1691 Thomas Cushman

Pastors
at Gainsborough 1606–1607 John Smith
Scrooby 1607–1608 Richard Clifton
Amsterdam 1608–1609 Francis Johnson
Leyden 1609–1625 John Robinson
Plymouth 1624 John Lyford
1628 Rogers
1629–1636 Ralph Smith
1636–1654 John Reyner
1659 James Williams
1665 William Binstead
1669–1697 John Cotton the younger

Deacons
at Amsterdam 1608–1609 Christopher Bowman
Leyden 1609–1625 Robert Cushman
Plymouth 1620–1633 Samuel Fuller
1617–1621 John Carver
1629–1633 Richard Masterson and Thomas Blossom
1634–1644 John Doane
1634–1651 John Cooke and William Paddy
1652–1687 Robert Finney
1669–1693 Ephraim Morton

Teachers
at Scrooby 1607–1608 John Robinson
Amsterdam 1608–1609 Henry Ainsworth
Plymouth 1631–1643 Roger Williams
1636 John Norton
1638–1641 Charles Chauncy

Assistant Governors
1621–1632 Isaac Allerton
1624–1635 Captain Miles Standish
1624–1632 Edward Winslow
1624–1636 Stephen Hopkins
1624–1628 Richard Warren
1629–1635 John Howland
1631–1639 John Alden
1633–1634 William Bradford
1633 W. Gison
1633 J. Doane
1634–1635 Edward Winslow
1634–1637 William Collier
1635–1637 Thomas Prence
1636 William Bradford
1636 Timothy Hatherley
1636 Peter Browne
1637–1641 Captain Miles Standish
1637–1638 Edward Winslow
1637–1640 John Jenney
1637 Timothy Hatherley
1638 William Bradford
1638–1645 Peter Browne
1638 Henry Atwood
1639 Thomas Prence
1639–1640 Timothy Hatherley
1639–1651 William Collier
1640–1646 E. Freeman
1640–1657 Thomas Prence
1641–1643 Edward Winslow
1641–1657 Timothy Hatherley
1642–1644 William Thomas
1645–1656 Captain Miles Standish
1645–1647 Edward Winslow
1647–1650 William Thomas
1647–1655 Peter Browne
1650 Edward Winslow
1651–1672 John Alden
1661–1665 Thomas Willet
1652–1653 Thomas Southworth
1654–1665 William Collier
1656–1657 J. Cudworth
1657–1672 John Winslow
1658–1681 William Bradford Jr.
1658–1659 Thomas Southworth
1665–1666 J. Brown
1666–1673 N. Bacon
1666–1686 J. Freeman
1670–1678 Constant Southworth
1673–1680 J. Cudworth
1673–1683 J. Brown
1679–1686 D. Smith
1681–1686 B. Lothrop
1682–1686 J. Thatcher
1684–1686 J. Walley.

No fewer than four one-time presidents of the United States are said to have been descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers:

Zachary Taylor, who was President 1849–50 had among his ancestors both William Brewster and Isaac Allerton.

Ulysses Simpson Grant, President 1869–77, was descended from Richard Warren.

William Howard Taft, President 1909–13, had among his ancestors Francis Cooke.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President 1933–45, claimed relationship with no fewer than six of the Founding Fathers: Francis Cooke, the Allertons, Warrens, John Howland, John Tilley and the De la Noye family.

The Pilgrims are ferried from the shore at Delfshaven to the *Speedwell*.

A nineteenth-century engraving of Edward Winslow based on a seventeenth-century portrait.

e sent there for a replacement and for a few with which to make a heartening and ning broth. The Sagamore was only too agree and by two o'clock in the morning vere on their way to Plymouth, carrying a n Winslow to Surgeon Fuller.

morning Massasoit complained of hunger egged Winslow to use his musket to shoot se or ducks for him, but the Planter decided fore he attempted to digest anything so would be better for him to eat some bruised the flour extracted from it.

wn the two Englishmen made a search for aling herbs, as far as they could recognize the surrounding woods, but as it was still rch they found nothing but some strawberry hey dug up a sassafras root, took a slice from ded it to some broth to give it taste. Winslow up and then strained the brew through his chief and managed to induce the Indian drink about a pint of the concoction. His roved effective: the sick man cleared his nd his sight improved. He began to take an in all that was going on around him again, and, at a whim, asked Winslow to tour the village and to wash out the mouths of all who were found to be sick and to give each of them a dose of the home-brewed medicine. Winslow, uneasily aware that he was not a surgeon, set the women busy brewing up a strawberry-leaf broth in large earthenware pots and then made the rounds of the sick, dosing each of them.

After the midday meal Winslow returned to Massasoit to find his patient progressing far better than he had ever believed possible; when the Sagamore again asked for a goose or a duck to be shot and cooked for him, he gladly agreed. He took an Indian with him so that he should not get lost and very soon spotted a brace of ducks at a range of about 120 yards. He fired at them, killing one – much to the astonishment of his Indian guide. The women quickly plucked the bird and cooked it, and the broth from it was fed to the Chief. He swallowed it gratefully and with a good deal of pleasure.

So rapidly did he recover that, when he asked for the flesh of the bird, Winslow gave him a little after cutting away the fat. But Massasoit enjoyed fat and, although the Englishman warned him of the danger,

In ye name of God Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subiects of our dread soueraigne Lord King Iames by ye grace of God, of great Britaine, franc, & Ireland king, defender of ye faith, &c

Haueing vndertaken, for ye glorie of God, and aduancement of ye christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first Colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia. Doe by these presents solemnly & mutualy in ye presence of God, and one of another, Couenant, & combine our selues together into a Ciuill body politick; for our better ordering, & preseruation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & conuenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie: vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes whereof we haue hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Codd ye 11. of Nouember, in ye year of ye raigne of our soueraigne Lord king Iames of England, France, & Ireland ye eighteenth and of Scotland ye fifthe fourth. An: Dom. 1620.]

Part of the *Mayflower* Compact.

The Mayflower

Vernon Heaton

MAYFLOWER BOOKS · NEW YORK CITY

The Pilgrim Fathers formed one of very many "splinter groups" of deeply religious people which rebelled against the authority of the Anglican Church in England towards the end of the 16th century. None of these groups had any quarrel with the generally accepted concept of God as understood throughout the Christian world, but they did, in one degree or another, reject the various artificially and politically established "chains of command" imposed between them and their God.

The major sects, such as the Roman Catholics, regarded the hierarchy of their church as God's sole representatives on Earth – with the rights of intercession, forgiveness and retribution. The Anglican Church differed from the Roman Catholics only in that it was national rather than international and because it recognized the English Sovereign rather than the Pope in Rome as the final link with the Almighty. But the Puritans took a very different view of the authority of the church; they permitted no man the right to assume the dignity of being God's appointed agent on Earth, nor would they accept that any church had the sole privilege of interpreting the word of the Lord.

Both the Catholics and the Anglicans preferred dogma, richly endowed churches and brilliant ceremonial as an integral part of the worship of God, and both claimed for themselves absolute authority over their clerics and their congregations – and the unassailable right to order their services in the manner established by their "princes". The Puritan concept of worship, however, included no dogma, no ceremonial, no statuary and no formal Book of Prayer. It despised the panoply, the preferments, the dignities and the rich emoluments of the self-appointed bishops and archbishops and resented fiercely their claim to infallibility and their rejection of the right of any man to worship in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience. It disdained the vestments of the clergy and their ritualistic services, and utterly rejected the use of symbolism in the form of Holy Mass, Communion, Baptism, the Enthronement of Bishops and the Solemnization of Marriages. They claimed the right to elect their own teachers and objected strongly to being compelled to support the magnificent edifices of church and cathedral through tithes, levies and taxes – preferring to worship solemnly in humble surroundings and in direct communication with God.

But the state religion of England had the advantage, as far as King and government were concerned, of forming a vast network of communication that reached into every corner – and every home – of the realm. Through it ran the authority of the law, the injected fear of the hereafter and the certainty that the vast army of priests employed by it must, inevitably, note the slightest reluctance on the part of anyone to comply with its ordinances. Compulsory attendances at church services ensured that the "Big Brother" technique of surveillance was total; mysticism at those services created fear, the brilliant ceremonial awe – and the parish rolls prevented the citizens from dispersing and so evading taxes, military service and their "duty" to their masters. For those who failed to conform, the penalties were severe and summary.

Those who saw fit to oppose the Anglican form of worship were unfortunately not wholly agreed among themselves. Their religious scruples varied considerably and were often the cause of outspoken and even abusive arguments. Nor were the dissenters all prepared to sacrifice their freedom, and perhaps even their lives, in defence of their beliefs and in defiance of the state church. There were groups which ran with the hare and hunted with the hounds rather than risk the wrath of the established church – and yet continued, lukewarmly, to make some show of nonconformity. Other groups proved to be as fanatically devoted to the worship of God in their own way and as outspoken in their illegal meetings as had been the Christians who had been condemned to the arenas of Rome.

of dissenting priests. From this body the more scrupulous and extremist elements broke away as "Separatists", to worship in accordance with their own consciences.

The Pilgrim Church was one such group. It did not hesitate to accept the dangers implicit in holding secret and illegal meetings, and in heeding the teachings of unlicensed, Nonconformist pastors.

Heroic people: men, women and children who refused to recognize the carefully prescribed services imposed on them by the established church and performed by priests whose mock-humility conveyed to them little of the teachings of Christ. They had to be brave to flout the law in that intolerant age.

execution.

But these sombre horizons, judgements and visitations were a way of life in that era, not to be altered or openly questioned for centuries – despite the surge of conscience among many Englishmen and their growing preoccupation with the form of their worship of God. For generations to come the schism between the Anglican and the Puritan was to continue in bitterness – although basically the sole differences between them lay in the channels of communication between man and his God. Vast though this explosion of differences proved to be, the concept of the authority of the Almighty and of the certainty of Heaven and Hell was never in dispute.

A band of "godly and faythful Christians" under arrest for their religious practices.

(*above*) A corner of the First Court of Christ's College, Cambridge; (*left*) The college's fine entrance gateway. It was to this college that the young John Robinson went to study: he was to become a Fellow of the College. In later years he returned in unsuccessful attempts to gather new converts to Puritanism.

1602 it claimed an identity of its own as the Scrooby Separatist Church – secret, of course, but with a closely knit, devout following. Brewster nurtured it, gave heart to the fearful, financed it where and when the need arose, and became its Ruling Elder.

The second among the outstanding personalities of the Pilgrim Church in the north of England was John Robinson, who was to become its pastor – but who was never to achieve his heartfelt wish of ministering to his flock in America.

Robinson was born in Sturton-le-Steeple, some twelve miles from Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, and about five miles to the south of Gainsborough, over the border in Lincolnshire. As there are no parish registers in existence from before 1638, the year of his birth is not known, although it would appear to be about 1576.

As a youth he was sent to Christ's College, Cambridge. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree, but stayed on in the hope of obtaining a Master's degree. He was chosen as a Fellow of his College and took Holy Orders – as was usual on election to a fellowship. He gained the coveted degree in March 1599 and then spent another year at Cambridge, during which time he was elected a Reader in Greek and, in 1600, Dean.

A supremely satisfying college career, it would seem, but after ten years of it Robinson resigned his fellowship; on 15th February 1603 he married Bridget White in the Parish Church of St Mary, Greasby, Nottinghamshire, and with the assistance of the one-time Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, now Bishop of Norwich, he gained attachment to St Andrew's Church in that city.

Shortly before, Thomas Newhouse, some five or six years senior to Robinson, had been invited to become the Vicar of St Andrew's and had accepted the living with enthusiasm. But he soon established a dangerous reputation for Nonconformist practices. He refused to wear a surplice and eliminated from his services much of the ritual that was, under the Act of Uniformity, mandatory. Newhouse was popular with his congregation, some of whom enjoyed the thrill of defying authority, but most of whom genuinely preferred the form of worship that gave them the feeling of being in direct communion with God, rather than having to pursue a devious course through a third person, along ceremonious lines and in a precise form of words.

Robinson quickly came under the spell of Newhouse's teachings; with enthusiasm he supported the vicar and helped to swell the deeply interested congregation – until at last the authorities had to take notice of what was happening in St Andrew's Church, and it became evident that Puritanism in the parish would not be tolerated much longer.

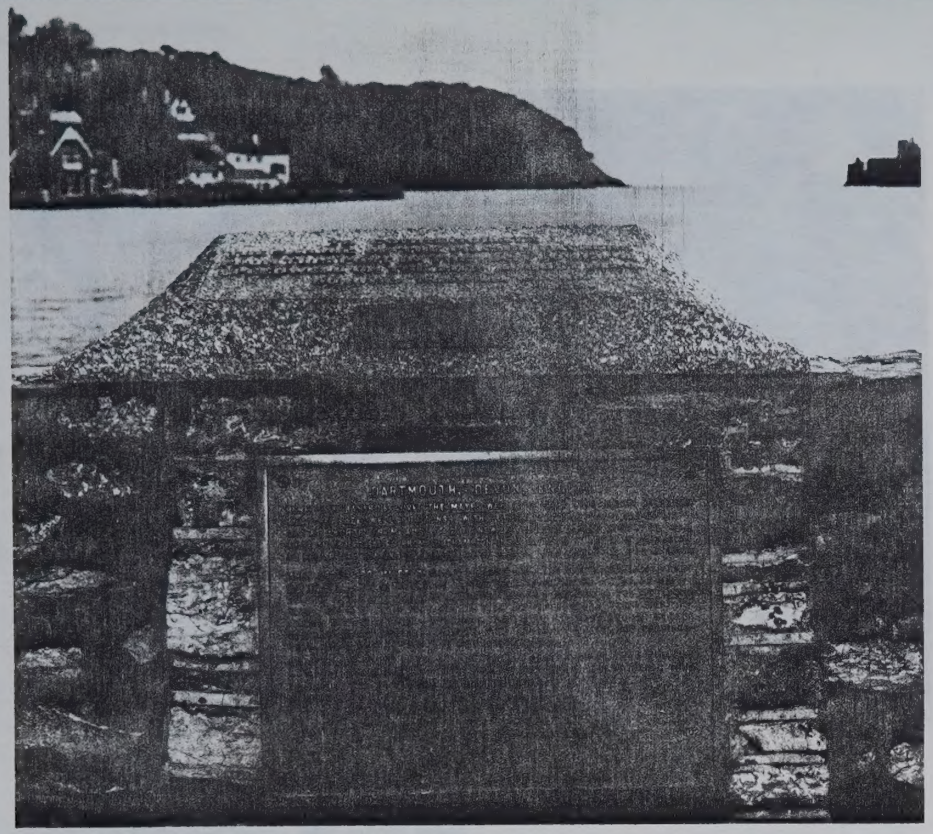
In 1604 a proclamation was issued requiring all ministers to conform to the New Book of Canons; the bishops were ordered to take action against those who failed to obey. Both Newhouse and Robinson chose to obey their consciences rather than their bishop, and they were therefore suspended from the Church and deprived of the right to preach or to hold services. Robinson, nothing daunted, gathered his friends together for private prayer – but retribution followed almost at once. Everyone known to attend his services was excommunicated.

He spent three long months in trying to find a solution that would accord with both the requirements of the Anglican Church and his own conscience, concerned for his followers in an age when "excommunication" was considered to be the ultimate penalty – even more terrible than execution. Without doubt he was seriously worried about the effect his attitude was having on the welfare of his family, and not entirely satisfied that he was pursuing the right course.

But steadily, despite the gathering clouds around him, what had been at first a matter of indifference hardened into active disapproval. Yet, deprived of his right to preach or to conduct services, abandoned now by many of his friends and followers and realizing that his wife, however devoted she was to his cause, was finding it almost impossible to provide for their children, Robinson found himself with no alternative but to return to Sturton-le-Steeple, where his parents offered him a home for himself and his family.

At Gainsborough he met John Smith and at Scrooby he came into contact with William Brewster – and others. He found that they and their followers were bitterly and determinedly opposed to any return to the ceremonies of the established church, but fearful of the consequences of their refusal to conform.

Robinson took an active part in giving heart and strength to their determination and took to preaching regularly at their secret meetings. Twice he returned



This plaque commemorates the time the Pilgrims spent at anchor off Bayard's Cove, Dartmouth.

suggested that the ship would have to put back towards the nearest harbour where a closer examination could be made and, if necessary, proper repairs could be carried out. It was decided to make for Dartmouth as the most convenient haven, and both vessels veered towards it.

A thorough examination of the hull from stem to stern was carried out, this time by qualified shipwrights, while the passengers and crew of the two ships controlled their impatience as best they could. The result came soon enough – and certain enough: until the leaks discovered by the examiners had been efficiently stopped there could be no hope of the *Speedwell* putting to sea again.

This further delay, and the additional expense, did much to dampen the enthusiasm of the emigrants – who had already endured almost too many disappointments and frustrations since the move to Virginia had first been mooted.

Robert Cushman, who had been the cause of so much dissension among the Pilgrims, was already deeply upset because of the criticisms to which he had been subjected from all sides. His failure to win the election for the governorship of the *Mayflower*, and the fact that in consequence he had to hand over the financial control of the enterprise to Christopher Martin, had added sorely to his depression, so that this latest setback brought on a nervous illness and he had to be taken ashore.

From there he wrote to a Separatist friend of his, Edward Southworth, who lived in Duke's Place, Aldgate, London – a district that was strangely free from molestation by the Anglicans because it happened that no church existed in the parish and

The *Mayflower* and *Speedwell* in Dartmouth Harbour, where the latter vessel was examined yet again for faults in preparation for a further attempt to cross the Atlantic.

there were no clergy to report on the activities of the Separatists. He told Southworth of his utter depression and of how his health and spirits had suffered because of the series of ill-fortunes that continued to frustrate the expedition. He explained that in this latest setback, "... if we had stayed at sea but three or four hours more she would have sunk right down. And though she was twice trimmed at Hampton, yet now she is as open and leaky as a sieve, and there was a board two feet long, a man might have pulled off with his fingers, where the water came in as at a mole hole."

Cushman complained that by the time they left England they would have consumed half their victuals and were likely to land in America with less than a month's provisions to last them through until their first harvest. Nor was he himself to be free of further trouble, despite the fact that he was ill and no longer had any office in the enterprise. His letter went on to tell of how he had been inundated with arguments and complaints about the conduct of affairs, and he wrote bitterly that Martin had spent £700 during their stay in Southampton – the total sum invested by the London Adventurers. Challenged to account for the way the money had been spent, Martin had become indignant and refused; careless of the distrust that was instantly aroused, he declared the Leyden Pilgrims to be a "froward and waspish, discontented people..." and made no effort to comply with their request. Cushman claimed, probably with good cause, that by now many of the emigrants would gladly have abandoned the journey if they could have got their money back – but his emphasis on the fact that Martin would not allow them ashore in case they deserted must be highly suspect.

Then he aimed his barbs at John Robinson, complaining bitterly that the pastor had advised the Pilgrims not to sign the agreement with the Adventurers; and, perhaps significantly, he accuses him also of warning the Leyden Pilgrims not to choose Cushman for any office in the enterprise – a most unlikely action on Robinson's part from distant Holland, and there is no trace of any such suggestion in Robinson's extant letters to the Elders aboard the ships. Finally, Cushman warned his friend that it would be a miracle if they ever established a plantation in the New World and that violence would break out among them all before the task was completed.

Altogether, a deplorable letter from a discredited representative, an offended Elder and a totally disheartened man.

There was a resurgence of hope when the *Speedwell*

Mary Queen of Scots preparing for her execution at Fotheringay. Although Elizabeth had signed the death warrant, she claimed later that she had never intended the execution to be carried out.

was from then on to poke a powerful thumb into every pie of Catholic discontent in England. No doubt King Philip II of Spain's interventions would have been more effective if the fractious Netherlands had not kept him out of the North Sea ports; nevertheless, in 1570 he was deeply implicated in the Ridolfi conspiracy, the suppression of which resulted in the Duke of Norfolk losing his head and Mary Queen of Scots being deprived of the little liberty she had been permitted.

England allied herself with France in 1572 under the Treaty of Blois, but in 1580, with the acquisition of Portugal, Philip of Spain decided that he at last held a strategic advantage against Elizabeth. In the following year he completed secret arrangements to support a revolt of the Catholics in England with a powerful invasion of his forces. The plot fizzled out but the enmity between England and Spain sharpened as Philip's involvement in the conspiracy became clear.

In 1586 Anthony Babington, in league with a Catholic priest named John Ballard, conspired to murder the Queen and her ministers and to organize a general uprising of Catholics in order to free Mary Queen of Scots. The plot was widespread, and Philip of Spain undertook to invade England in its support, but once again it fizzled out. The incautious correspondence between Mary and Babington was intercepted; and the plotters were seized and, eventually, executed. The discovery of the plot provoked a demand from Parliament that the Queen should, once and for all, remove the cornerstone on which rested the endless series of Catholic intrigues: in the following year Mary Queen of Scots was beheaded at Fotheringay.

The death of Mary was, however, to have little influence on Philip's urge to overthrow the English Queen and re-establish Catholic authority in her realm. In 1588 the Spanish Armada put to sea, under the command of the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, intent on putting an army ashore in England hoping that it would be supported by a massive uprising and so bring to an end the reign of a heretic queen. The force, strong though it undoubtedly was, was totally inadequate for such a venture; and it is probable that the English Catholics, realizing the dangers implicit in the enterprise, would never have risen in sufficient strength. In the event, they were never put to the test: Sir Francis Drake gave the Spanish fleet a severe drubbing in the English Channel, after which a gale from the south-west turned defeat into disaster.

Even that costly failure was not sufficient to dampen Philip's ardour to bring England to its knees. Spanish forces seized Calais and for a time threatened an invasion of England from Brest: the "Invisible Armada" of 1599 caused more alarm in England than had the "Invincible Armada" eleven years earlier.

As Queen Elizabeth staved off the threat from the Catholics, so she struggled to check the growing power of her Puritan subjects. Little notice had been taken of the Act of Uniformity, although it had served to drive the dissenting worshippers underground. They began to meet secretly in private houses and to proliferate into numerous obscure groups.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada, sent in an attempt to impose Catholicism on England and to halt Elizabeth's meddling in the Netherlands.

At first there was little organization about the movement, and never at any time either a general council or even an agreed form of worship. Broadly, the Puritans sought the right to choose their own leaders and to adopt their own form of worship – no more than that, but certainly no less. By 1565 the Anglican clergy, with dwindling congregations and some loss of revenue, began to urge the authorities to enforce the clauses of the Act of Uniformity and steps were taken to discover and to break up the Puritan meetings. In June 1567 the Plumbers' Hall in London was raided and from a congregation of about a hundred worshippers – who claimed they were there for a wedding and that no minister was present – fifteen were arrested and sent to prison. The term was a short one by the standards of that aggressively harsh era; six of them were subsequently arrested for the second time from a meeting of some eighty persons in a private house in March of the following year. The leaders were in this instance imprisoned for a year.

About this time, too, the London Puritans began

ngraving of Edward Winslow based on a
eenth-century portrait.

a few
g and
ly too
orning
ying a

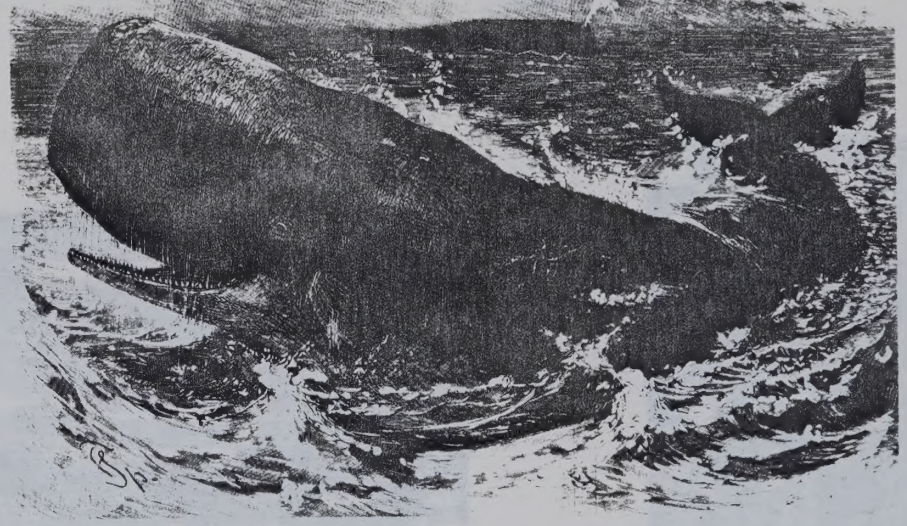
hunger
shoot
decided
ning so

and, at a whim, asked Winslow to tour the village and to wash out the mouths of all who were found to be sick and to give each of them a dose of the home-brewed medicine. Winslow, uneasily aware that he was not a surgeon, set the women busy brewing up a strawberry-leaf broth in large earthenware pots and then made the rounds of the sick, dosing each of them.

After the midday meal Winslow returned to Massasoit to find his patient progressing far better

he Pilgrims, at Cape Cod.

nances, acts, constitutions, Offices, from time to
e. as shall be thought most meet and convenient



"They spotted more than one whale but had no tackle with which to catch them . . ."

presumed incapable of entering into any formal agreements. Of the eleven men who failed to sign the Association and Agreement two were temporary

find a channel through the shallow waters of the harbour, the Captain had been compelled to anchor the *Mayflower* well clear of the land. But the party

beach, but below the surface was good black soil – although at that time of the year it was hardening

iescent – at any rate for the time being. Trade too as booming, and the wealth of the nation was reading over a broad front so that almost everyone the land felt some benefit from the rising osperity.

Even England's religious independence had been serted beyond further effective dispute from road . . .

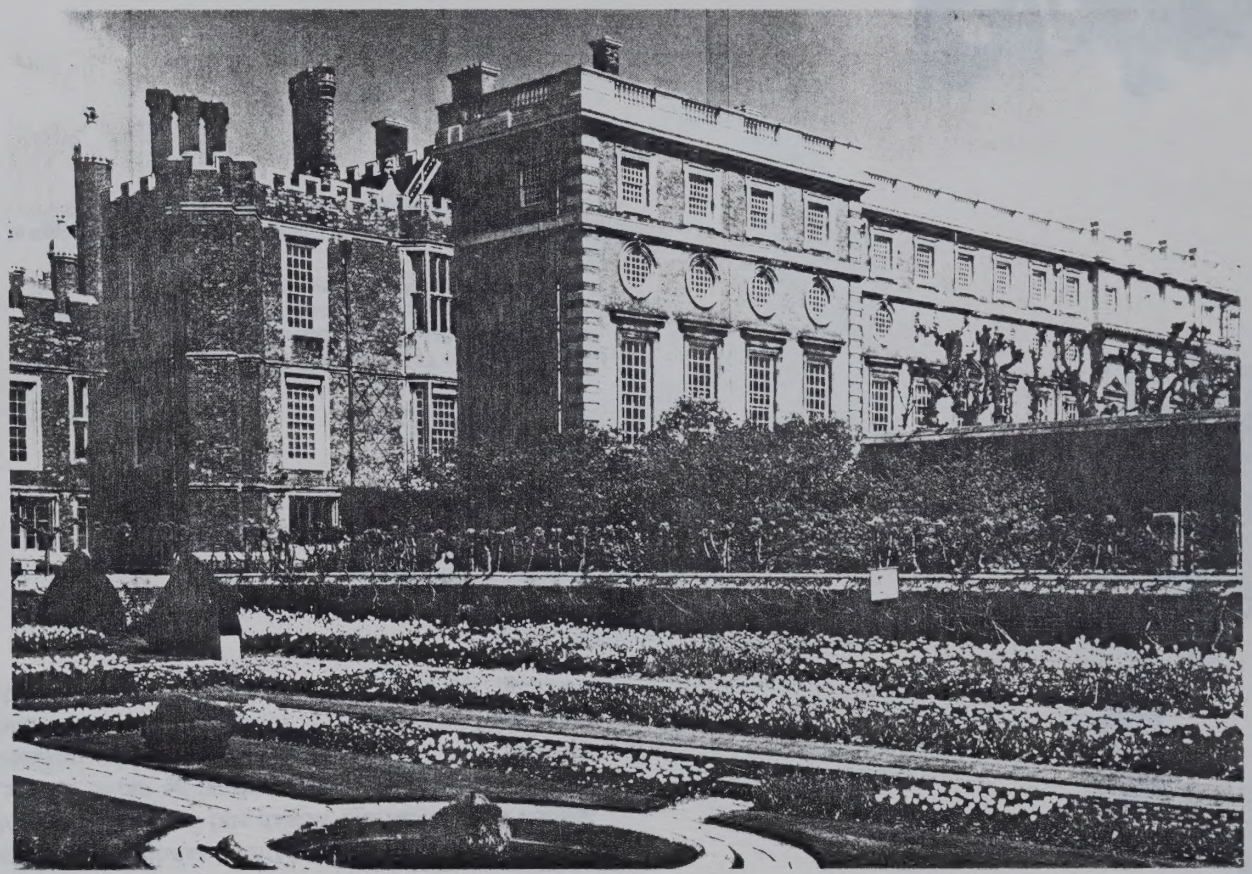
But at home religious matters loomed darkly over erything.

The Anglican community – the established church extremists who dissented from it. The Catholics, however, looked forward almost with eagerness to the protection and even aggrandizement they could surely expect from the only son and heir of the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots – while the Puritans were equally certain of the sympathy of a Scotsman who had been brought up in the Calvinist faith. So James found himself caught up in the middle of a three-way fight between Anglicans, Catholics and Puritans – each of them hostile to the other two and each determined to root out every opinion other than their own.

He made an immediate though ill considered gesture of peace to the two non-established parties, Catholics and Puritans. He remitted the fines that were levied on all who refused to attend worship in an bounty to permit him to sacrifice so profitable a "tax" for long. Even in the first year of his reign in London, 1603, he began to feel the need for more and more money: instead of keeping his promise to remit the fines he strengthened the hands of his collectors.

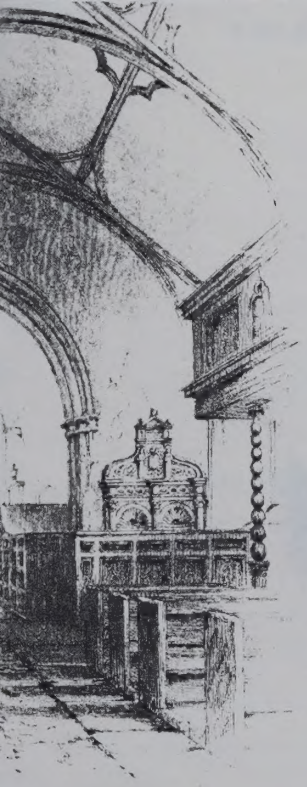
But, perhaps because of his Protestant upbringing, it was the Puritans who were the most clamorous for the king's attention to their grievances. Only a few months after his coronation about a thousand ministers, in a petition that was to become known as the Millenary Petition, urged him to institute reforms: the main target was the Book of Common Prayer, the main aim the freedom to disassociate themselves from it without incurring penalties.

King James, under the gleaming shield of the Divine Right of Kings, summoned a conference of all



(*left*) James VI & I seated in Parliament.

(*above*) Hampton Court, where James held conference during June 1604 in order to discuss religious practices.



Lord Mayor of London in front of his king in 1381 and was knighted for it. Another, Sir Ralph Standish, fought at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415. Sir Alexander was knighted for his bravery at Hutton Field in Scotland in 1482 and Henry Standish, a Franciscan friar, became Bishop of St Asaph in 1519.

From these ancestors Miles Standish was born loaded with hereditary wealth and honours – most of which were to elude him, before he came of age, through the actions of less honourably inclined members of his family. A soldier by inclination and training, he served Queen Elizabeth in Holland, emigrated there from Scrooby.

Although not a member of that, or any other church, he was strangely attracted to the cause of the Scrooby Separatists. That and, no doubt, his spirit of adventure caused him to accompany the members of the church to America, when the time came. There he was to become their military leader; redoubtable, courageous and something of a military genius.

There are others who take their part as the story of the Pilgrim Fathers progresses, but none can claim, so surely and so early in its history, to warrant the major honours that surrounded its beginnings.

(*opposite above*) The Standish Chapel and Pew in Chorley Old Church. Miles Standish was one of the few Pilgrim Fathers to come from a distinguished and noble family, several of his ancestors having achieved renown.

(*opposite below*) James VI & I enters London on the last stage of his journey south to receive the crown of England in 1603.

A nineteenth-century engraving of Edward Winslow based on a

22 Together in the New World

In May 1630 the *Handmaid* dropped anchor in Plymouth harbour, New England, and from it there disembarked sixty passengers from Leyden, Holland – the last of those to arrive in the New World under the mantle of the Pilgrim Church and entitled to style themselves as the "Pilgrim Fathers of New England".

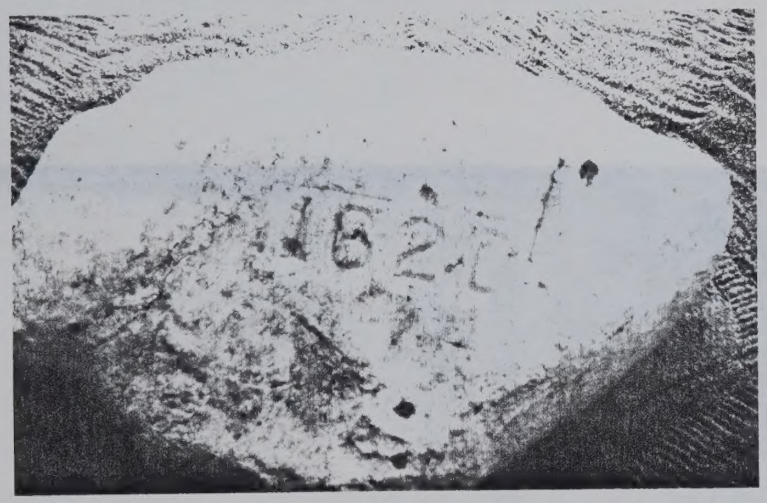
In the ten years that had passed since the *Mayflower* had sailed from Plymouth, Devon, 292 members of that Church had arrived in Plymouth, New England – 52 to die within six months of the first landing in the New World. But, through the incidence of births and deaths during that decade, the population of the settlement was now around 300.

Fortunate indeed were these "last arrivals", for the "Forefathers" had never forgotten the solemn compact into which they had entered with every member of the Pilgrim Church in April 1620, before the first of them sailed from Leyden to join the *Mayflower*, the fourth and last clause of which declared:

"If the Lord should frown upon our proceedings, then those that went to return; and the brethren that remained still there, to assist and be helpful to them. But if God should be pleased to favour them that went, then they also should endeavour to help over such as were poor, and ancient, and willing to come."

As this last company of the Pilgrim Fathers stepped ashore, their eyes and hearts must have been gladdened by the sight of the houses that had been built for them and the ground that had been prepared for their use, and by the knowledge that provisions for sixteen months were being held in reserve for them, until such time as they could harvest their own first crops.

The Pilgrims' Rock, commemorating the epic voyage of the *Mayflower* and the discovery by the Pilgrims of a new home where they could worship according to the dictates of their consciences.



Appendix

(a) Indian Names

(As there were, of course, no written Indian languages in the seventeenth century, Indian words are spelt here, phonetically, as interpreted by the author.)

Agawam – Ipswich, N.E.
Agawaywam – Wareham, N.E.
Aspinet – Sachem of the Nauset Indians.
Canonicus – Sagamore of the Narragansetts.
Cantaugcanteest – Strawberry Hill (1623), now Watson's Hill in New Plymouth.
Cawnacome – Sachem of the Manomets.
Corbitant – a Sachem of the tribes at Mattapoist and Namaschet.
Cummaquid – Barnstable harbour, N.E.
Hobomok – a Wampanoag Pines who lived with the settlers at New Plymouth.
Isle of Capawack – Martha's Vineyard, N.E.
Iyanough – Sachem of the Mattachiest Indians.
Kietitan – Indian God.
Manamoick – Chatham, N.E.
Manomet – Sandwich, N.E.
Massachusets – Indians domiciled in northern Boston Bay area.
Massasoit – Sagamore of the Wampanoag Indians.
Massasoit's Spring – Warren, N.E.
Mattachiest – district around Barnstable, N.E.
Mattapoist – Gardner's Neck, Swansea, N.E.
Monchiggan – Monhegan, N.E.
Namaschet – Middlesborough, N.E.
Nanepashemet – a deceased Sagamore of the Boston Bay Indians.
Narragansetts – Indians based chiefly in Rhode Island, N.E.
Nauset – Eastham, N.E.
Neumkeak – Salem, N.E.
Obtakiest – Sachem of the Boston Bay Indians.
Packonokik – Bristol district of Rhode Island.
Pamet – Cape Cod.
Patuxet – New Plymouth.
Pecksuot – Pines of the Boston Bay Indians.
Pemmaquid – Bristol, N.E.
Pines – a Councillor under a Sachem.
Powow – Medicine Man, healer or adviser.
Quadequina – a Wampanoag Sachem and brother of Sagamore Massasoit.
Sachem – a local chief.
Sagamore – a paramount chief.
Samoset – Sagamore of the Pemmaquid tribes.
Sowans – Massasoit's "capital" in Packonokik.
"Squanto" – Tisquantum, an Indian resident with the settlers in New Plymouth.
Squaw Sachem – chief's wife.
Succonet – Falmouth, N.E.
Tarrantine Indians – domiciled along the Penobscot River, in Maine, N.E.
Tisquantum – see "Squanto".
Tokamahamon – Indian interpreter loaned to the settlers by Massasoit.
Wampanoag Indians – particularly domiciled in and around Rhode Island.
Wassapinewat – Sachem, brother of Obtakiest.
Wessagusset – Weymouth, N.E.
Wituwamat – a Pines of the Boston Bay Indians.

(b) Officers of the Plymouth Plantation

Governors

1602	John Carver
1621–1632	William Bradford
1633	Edward Winslow
1634	Thomas Prence
1635	William Bradford
1636	Edward Winslow
1637	William Bradford
1638	Thomas Prence
1639–1643	William Bradford
1644	Edward Winslow
1645–1657	William Bradford
1658–1672	Thomas Prence
1673–1680	Josiah Winslow
1681–1686	Thomas Hinckley

In ye name of God Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subiects of our dread Soueraigne Lord King Iames by ye grace of God, of great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland king, defender of ye faith, &c

Haueing vndertaken, for ye glorie of God, and aduancement of ye christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first Colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia. Doe by these presents solemnly & mutualy in ye presence of God, and one of another, Couenant, & Combine our selues togeather into a Ciuill body politick, for our better ordering, & preseruation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by Vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, Acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & conuenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie: Vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes whereof we haue hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Codd ye 11. of Nouember, in ye year of ye raigne of our soueraigne Lord king Iames of England, France, & Ireland ye eighteenth and of Scotland ye fifthe fourth. Anno Dom. 1620.

Part of the *Mayflower* Compact.

The Mayflower

Vernon Heaton

MAYFLOWER BOOKS · NEW YORK CITY

In ye name of God Amen. We whose names are underwriten
the loyall subiects of our dread Soueraigne Lord King Iames
by ye grace of God, of great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland king
defender of ye faith, &c
Haueing vndertaken, for ye glorie of God, and aduancement
of ye christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to
plant ye first Colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia. Doe
by these presents solemnly & mutualy in ye presence of God, and
one of another, Couenant, & combine our selues togeather into a
Ciuill body politick; for our better ordering, & preseruation & fur-
therance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte,
constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances,
Acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought
most meete & conuenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie: Vnto
which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes
whereof we haue hereunder subscribed our names at Cape
Codd ye 11. of Nouember, in ye year of ye raigne of our soueraigne
Lord king Iames of England, France, & Ireland ye eighteenth
and of Scotland ye fifth & fourth, An: Dom. 1620.

Part of the *Mayflower* Compact.

The Mayflower

Vernon Heaton

MAYFLOWER BOOKS · NEW YORK CITY

These ptculars were expressed by the said William Bradford, Govr, the 9th of May, 1657, in the p'sence of us, Thomas Chushman
Thomas Southworth
Nathaniel Morton"

The inventory of his estate was taken by Tho. Cushman and John Dunham. There is an account contained in it of articles "in ye old parlor, in the great room, in the kitchen, in the new chamber, in the studdie"

MAJOR WILLIAM HOLMES.

Who died at Boston Nov. 12, 1649. His will. Names kinswomen *Margaret* and *Mary Holmes*, residing in the island of Antego, and daughters of his deceased brother, *Thomas Holmes*. Also mentions his estate in that island, and his sister-in-law *Margaret Webb*, alias *Holmes*, late wife of his brother *Thomas Holmes*, and her daughters, *Rachell* and *Bathsheba*, all now living in London. He gave them his farm in Scituate "if they come to New England". He also speaks of "arrears due to him for being a soldier and commander in the army and service of the king and parliament." He calls *Job Hawkins* of Boston, "his loving and kind kinsman."

Witnesses
John David
Nicholas Simpkins
John Butworth
John Richbell

Executors,
James Penn
Robt Scott.

Deposition by *James Penn*, that he had written to St. Antego, but had received no answer, and had also sent to the kindred in England, that they were poor, and could not come over, and that thus none appear to have rightful claim to the property but *Job Hawkins*.

Deposition by *Isabel Simpkins*, aged 44 years, that when Major Holmes came last into this country, he told her that he was very poor and that he was supported by Job Hawkins, who furnished him clothes, &c., and "put him in credit in the taverns" June. 1654.

Deposition of *Capt. Nicholas Simpkins*, aged 54 years, that when Maj. Holmes came last into this country, about 1649, he was "very mean in apparel", and that Hawkins paid his "scores att the tavernes, tho he kept companie much with divers gentlemen". June 1654.

Deposition of *Lenard Buttels*, aged 41 yrs, that he paid Maj. Holmes £4, on Hawkins' account.

Some other papers.

EDWARD HUNT, (Duxbury.)

May 20, 1656. Inventory by Christopher Wadsworth and Constant Southworth. Am't. £51. 11s. 9d.

REV. RALPH PARTRIDGE, (Duxbury.)

His will was exhibited at Court on the oath of *Wm. Collier*, May 4, 1658.

To his da. *Elizabeth Thacher* all his landed estate in N. E, and after her to her second son *Ralph Thacher*, Excepting one parcel of land "at Hicks his necke", which I bought of *Mr Hicks* of Plymouth, and another lot of 10 acres which I give to her eldest da. *Patience Kemp*, and to her youngest son *Peter Thacher*, my part of lands which were purchased of Ussamequen, called the New Plantation. He names also her eldest son *Thomas Thacher*. To this da. he also gave his house in Old. England.

To his eldest da. *Mary*, wife of *John Marshall*, and hir sons *Robert* and *John*.

Names his wife *Patience* who had previously deceased, and his "late deceased attorney Mr *Thomas Cullen*, the elder",

Bequeaths also to *Wm. Brett*, to *Joseph Prior*, his man serv't, and *Anna Reiner*, his maid serv't. Names his sister *Elizabeth Tidge*.

Witnessed by
Wm. Collier
Robert Husey

Signed Sep 29. 1655,

His inventory taken 25 2mo 1658 by *Wm Collier*, *John Alden*, *Constant Southworth* and *Christopher Wadsworth*. It names articles in "the Studdy (his library, 400 volumes), the little room next the studdy, the parlor, the parlor chamber, kitchen chamber, Leanto chamber, garrett, kitchen, sellar". An account of his lands is also given, naming 40 acres, which he bought of *C. Wadsworth*, 3 of "medow", 10 at Morton's hole, 10 in the common field with a house, 25 which he bought of *Arthur Harris*, 59 bought of *Mr Reyner*, 3 at Blue fish river, 40 purchased of *John Willis*, and his own house, with lands adjoining, orchard &c, and a full purchase at Bridgewater.

THOMAS DIMACK, (Barnstable.)

Nuncupative will by *Anthony Annable* and *John Smith*, that "when he was sick last summer, he said what little he had he would give to his wife, for the children were hers as well as his"

DANIEL WING, (Sandwich?)

May 3. 1659. Inventory, by *John* and *Stephen Wing*, of a small estate confirmed to the children of Danl. Wing.

WILLIAM CARPENTER, SEN. (Rehoboth.)

Will, dated 10 10mo 1659. Names his wife; his sons *John* (and his son) *William* (and his son John) *Joseph* (and his son Joseph) *Abijah*, and *Samuel*. His daughters *Hannah* and *Abigail*.

To John Titus' son. Witnessed by *John Peck* and *Richd. Bullock*. Executors, *Richd Bowin* and *John Allin*.

His inventory, an extensive one, follows.

We are probably not descended from Mayflower Gov Winslow, the only connection probably his marriage to widow Susanna White (if she turns out to be related). But this is interesting history -

Winslow

Godfrid[1] Winslow of Earls Colne, Worcester b 1425

Richard[2] Winslow (same place) 1450

William[3] (same place) 1471

Richard[4] (same place) will 1546

Thomas[5] of Kempsey + Worcester

Kenelm[6] of Severnstoke, Worcester Co. deposition 1605 (yeoman)
m. Elizabeth Morgan (dau of Edward Morgan, Esquire, of Henbury next Droitwich, Worc. + desc. from Lord Clinton of Maxstoke, Worc.) She was of a gentle family

(Mr) Edward[7] (gentleman) scattered extractor
m. Magdalen Olyver (5 sons to New England) Younger d+r Magdalene stayed in Eng + her grandson wm Wake (1657-1737) became archbishop of Canterbury. Edward was in 1620 under sheriff of Worcestershire (Edward[7] acted as surety on a debt + which could not be paid - fled to Ireland, but by 1621 was back in England living at Clifton, Severn Stoke, Worc. as under sheriff). To have that post one had to be a gentleman)

Edward[8] (1595-1655)

came on the Mayflower 1620 with his brother, Gilbert Winslow. 3 other brothers later.

NEHG 121

25 she dyed
(two lines deleted read:
"It is appointed for all
men once to dy." -Eg)

[13b]

1651

March 1651

Aprill

6 Isaac Aellen James Colier bapt
8 John Gill borne
13 bapt
10 John Garnet maried at Boston
13 Mary foulsham bapt
20 Zechaus Jane and Abigail
Parker bapt

May

6 Mr Elliot ruling elder to
the church at Boston Deaceased
8 buried

July

4 Mehetabell Hobart born
8 baptized
[15] James Whiting bapt
[18] Sarah Page bapt

August

David Hobart my son borne
bapt [died August 21 1717 -H]

September

Ruth Bate bapt
Isaac gates dyed

Nouember

Susanna gillford bap
Deborah Pitt bapt
[13] Deborah Cushing bapt
[14] Mr Ibrook dyed

December

4 John Thaxter Tho Marsh bapt

[14a]

1651 1652

febuary

22 Sarah Prince bapt

March 1652

22 Deborah Hauke bapt

Aprill

20 widow wilder dyed
22 buried
25 Ben: Prince Mary Sprague bapt

May

28 Soloman Hobart borne

June

6 Solomon Hobart, Joseph Bosworth, Peter Barnes, Deborah Baker, Sarah Chamberlin — bapt
20 Deborah Lane bapt

July

11 Deliuerance Parker bapt
7 Hannah Tower, John Joanes, John Canterbery, John Garnet — bapt

September

19 Tho Lazell bapt
14 Capt Bozoun Alle [Allen-Eg] my very
good friend dyed being
tusday at Boston

Nouember

18 Jeremiah Beale marryed Sarah
Ripply at Boston thursday
26 Isaac Wright dyed

[To be continued]

THE "MAYFLOWER" WINSLOWS—YEOMEN OR GENTLEMEN?

By John G. Hunt, B.S.C., of Arlington, Va.

In 1620 Edward[8] Winslow and his brother Gilbert came to New England in the "Mayflower." In the three and a half centuries which have elapsed since that time not a few conflicting statements, concerning their origin and status, including several wrong pedigrees, have gotten into print.[a]

Their grandfather, Kenelm[6] Winslow, was surely a yeoman, as proved by the text of his last will, dated and proved at Worcester in 1607.[b]

Of Droitwich in the same county, his son, salt extractor Edward[7] Winslow, by his wife Magdalene Olyver, had five sons who were early settlers of New England. Of these, the eldest was Edward,[8] 1595-1655, sometime governor of Plymouth Colony. The youngest daughter was

Magdalene,[8] 1604-1693, who stayed in England and whose grandson, William Wake, 1657-1737, became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1716.[c]

Not long before the outbreak of the American Revolution, Governor Thomas Hutchinson, a well informed political figure, writing of Edward[8] Winslow, asserted that he was "a gentleman of the best family of any of the Plymouth planters."[d]

On the other hand, in 1951, Bradford Smith, writing apropos of the humble status of the generality of the *Mayflower* passengers of 1620 asserted: "Efforts have been made to prove that Winslow came from a higher step in the English stairway of classes. There is nothing to sustain this."[e]

Taken together, however, there are several records that clearly support the statement that Edward[7] Winslow was a gentleman. It follows therefore that his sons were rightfully entitled to such style. Specifically:

1. In 1607 at Droitwich he was styled "Mr.," a prefix of respect not casually bestowed in that era.[f] 2. By 1611 he had become surety for Simon Clarke, Esq., who in 1617 was to be created baronet.[g] 3. By 1620 Winslow was under-sheriff of Worcestershire;[h] at that period such a position would rarely have been given a man who had no important families to call cousins. 4. Before 1635 he was well liked by Thomas, Lord Coventry, who in 1620 had been M.P. for Droitwich, a native of Crome Dabitot, near the towns in which Winslow's ancestors had long lived.[j] 5. In 1647 Elizabeth Bosville, a lady of an aristocratic ancestry,[k] was wife to Herbert Pelham of Bures, Essex, Esq., who in writing that year to John Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts-Bay called Edward[8] Winslow "my cosen."[l] 6. In 1650 Lady Dorothy Hesilrige (Mrs. Pelham's aunt and cousin) styled herself Winslow's "loving cosen."[m] 7. In or before 1705, Archbishop Wake, 1657-1737, stated that Edward[7] Winslow was "a Gentleman of a Good Family in Worcestershire."[e]

Considering the foregoing factors, it seems fair to state that while Kenelm[6] Winslow was a yeoman, his son Edward[7] was a gentleman. It appears that Edward's status may have derived from his mother, who seems[n] almost surely to have been Elizabeth Morgan. Her father, Edward Morgan of Hanbury next Droitwich, co. Worcester (who in 1584 was styled "Esquire" by the Earl of Bedford)[o] was a descendant of Lord Clinton of Maxstoke, co. Warwick.[p]

Appendix I—Testimony of William Wake

In the "Visitation of London, 1687" in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 3d ser., vol. 3, p. 72, William Wake, Chaplain in Ordinary to their Majesties, identified his grandmother as Magdalen, daughter of Edward Winslow, gent., of Co. Worcester. In the same work the Rev. Mr. Wake's mother is identified as Amy, daughter of Edward Cutler, gent., of Stower Payne, co. Dorset. However, in John Hutchins' *History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 3d ed., vol. 1, p. 232, it is found that the memoirs of Wake (who in 1716 became Archbishop) show that the aforesaid Cutler was not a gentleman, but was, rather, a rich farmer. It is, therefore, of some interest to note the actual words of Wake with regard to his grandmother and her father: he stated:

"My grandfather, Mr. William Wake . . . was born in St. Margaret's Westminster . . . 1598 (and attended Trinity Hall) . . . he was ordained Priest the 28th of Nov. 1622 . . . and was instituted to Trinity Church in Wareham in the county of Dorset . . . (16th Jany. 1625/6) . . . presented by Sir Wm. Pitt of Hartley Waspell (Southants) . . . He soon after married my grandmother upon St. Mark's Day April 25th 1627. She was the daughter of Mr. Edward Winslow, a Gentleman of a Good Family in Worcestershire; was born December 26th. 1604; her name was Magdalene. She was an Excellent Wife and Mother, lived to a great age, and in the time of the (Civil) War did the King many singular Services; and dyed in my Father's House at Shapwick in Dorset, May 25th. 1693. She was buried in the Tomb of my Uncle Edward Wake at Charlton, about two miles from Shapwick as She had desired in Her Lifetime. My grandfather continued in his Livings till the Civil Wars broke out, and then was very early engaged on the King's side, and suffered greatly for it . . . was about 20 times imprisoned, besides being turned out of His Livings till the King's return. Into these the Parliament Committee put one Mr. Thomas Chaplin, who continued to possess them till the King's return, when my grandfather . . . was Restored to them. He enjoyed his Preferments but a very little while, dying within a year . . He had by my grandmother five children: My father the eldest (Wm. Wake of Shapwick, born Apr. 28, 1628, died May 29, 1705); Magdalen, born the 25th of February 1629; Edward born the 20th of Apr. 1634; Charles the 27th September 1637 and two others of which I have only the names Edward and Margaret."

Appendix II—The Hegira of Edward[7] Winslow

The will of Thomas Harton, dated 14 Sept. 1620 and proved 19 Dec. following (see note h above) includes under the heading "Desperate Debts," the following:

"Edward Windslowe some time under sheriff of co. Worcester, owes money for which I can get no payment as he has fled to Ireland. Sir Henry Follett has my bonds for same. John Wilson also fled to Ireland. Wm. Woodward alias Blauckett fled to Pembrokeshire. Mr. John Richardson of Castle Morton, dwelling in London."

Possibly the indebtedness of Winslow derived from his having helped Simon Clarke and Charles Stamford, for Chancery Proceedings of 24 Oct. 1611 show this answer to a bill of complaint of Richard Moore, gent.:

"Answer (only) of Edward Winslow: Subject Winslow was surety on a bond. Simon Clarke and Charles Stamford were principals" (Banks MSS, Rare Book Room, Library of Congress, red bound series, fo. 749).

It so happens that Sir John Bucke of Kempsey, who brought Kereswell from Kenelm[6] Winslow, was in the commission of the peace for Worcestershire. Bucke's wife, Eleanor, was sister to the aforesaid Henry Folliott, kt., the latter having by 1615 gone to Ireland, where in 1619 he was created Lord Folliott of Ballyshannon, Sligo, in the peerage of Ireland. See *The Ligon Family in England* (1947), p. 101, and *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1615-1625*, p. 10, 11. Also see reference cited in note j, above, as well as *Worcestershire Quarter Sessions Rolls*, Worcs. Hist. Soc.

It is suggested that Harton knew that Edward Winslow had either a kinship or acquaintance with the Buckes, and consequently approached Sir John Bucke for help in collecting the money that Winslow owed; if so, Bucke probably advised Harton to turn his evidence of the debt over to Sir Henry Folliott, Bucke's brother-in-law, who was then in Ireland.

In that era, the high-sheriff of a county normally would select a kinsman or acquaintance to become under-sheriff. In 1620 the high-sheriff of Worcestershire was Sir Edmond Wylde of Kempsey, whose paternal granddame was Eleanor Wall of Droitwich, sister to the mother of the Sir John Bucke who bought Kereswell from Kenelm[6] Winslow. Bucke's father, Francis, in his will, showed his affection for his wife's cousins Thomas Wylde of Kempsey (father of Sir Edmond), and Thomas' brother, George Wylde of Droitwich (see will of Francis Bucke of Kempsey, Worcs., gent., dated 1580, proved 1581 at Worcester; will of Sir Edmond Wylde, proved in 1620 [P.C.C. Soame, 1094]; will of his father, Thomas Wylde of Kempsey, Worcs., proved 1599 [P.C.C. 69 Kidd]; "Visitation of Worcestershire, 1569," Harleian Society Publication, vol. 27, p. 26, 27, 151—in the latter page Kemsey in Bedfordshire is wrongly stated for Kempsey, Worcs., which the wills correctly indicate as home of the Wyldes. Also see "Visitation of Worcestershire, 1634," Harleian Society Publication, vol. 90, p. 79. Plainly Wylde seems to have been led by Sir John Bucke, his close kinsman, to choose Edward[7] Winslow as under-sheriff. The inference again is that Winslow was either cousin or close friend to Bucke.

The inhumane treatment meted out to debtors in English prisons of those days was frightful enough to persuade those who could not pay to flee the country. But by 1621 we are told that Edward[7] Winslow was in England, living at Clifton, a tiny hamlet in Severnstoke. See note a above.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

a. The correct pedigree is briefly: Galfrid[1] Winslow of Earls Crome, co. Worcester, 1425; Richard,[2] of the same, 1430; William,[3] of the same, 1471; Richard,[4] of the same, will dated 1546; Thomas,[5] of Kempsey; Kenelm,[6] of Kempsey and Worcester, named before in this paper: MSS in the possession of D. Kenelm Winslow, author of *Mayflower Heritage*, London, 1957.

b. In 1562 Kenelm[6] Winslow held land in Severnstoke, co. Worcester, near the Somers and Clifton families, whom he named in a deposition dated in 1605; *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael in Bedwardine, Worcester*, Worcestershire Historical Society (1896), p. 54-57; Banks MSS, Rare Book Room, Library of Congress.

c. Information in the possession of J. T. Kirkwood of Blackheath, London, Esq., a descendant of the archbishop, and found with help of David Humiston Kelley, Ph.D., of Lincoln, Nebr. See Appendix I below.

d. Thomas Hutchinson, 1711-1780, last royal governor of the province of Massachusetts, in his *History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, cited in *Dictionary of National Biography, sub* Winslow, Edward.

e. *Bradford of Plymouth*, p. 127.

f. *The Old Order Book of the Hartlebury Grammar School* (Worcestershire Historical Society, Oxford (1904), p. 33, 35).

g. Betham's *Baronetage of England* (1801), vol. 1, p. 127; Clarke, and Charles Stamford, his brother-in-law married sisters, daughters of Elizabeth Alderford of Salford, co. Warwick. The two men got Edward[7] Winslow to become their surety by 1611 as proved by an entry in Banks' MSS cited above. Their wives' half-brother Edward Morgan, Jr., of Down Hatherly, co. Gloucester, was a cousin to Elizabeth Morgan named in note n below. See his father's will, 1578 (P.C.C. 41 Langley).

h. Charles Edward Banks, *The English Ancestry and Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers* (1929), p. 98-99, citing will of Thomas Harton of Bredon, co. Worcester (P.C.C., Soame, 114). See Appendix II above.

j. *The American Genealogist*, vol. 41, p. 173-174, citing Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Earl Cowper MSS*, vol. 2, p. 72.

k. This lady, last wife to Herbert Pelham, Esq., was, like him, a descendant of Edward III (cf. Joseph Hunter, *South Yorkshire* (1831), vol. 2, p. 346 and Joseph Jackson Howard and Frederick Arthur Crips, eds., *Visitation of England & Wales: Notes* (1915), vol. 11, p. 150-153. Mrs. Pelham may have persuaded her spouse to arrange the match between his daughter Penelope and Josias[9] Winslow, the second Mrs. Pelham's cousin, Josias being the son of Governor Edward[8] Winslow; *cf.* Frederick Lewis Weis, *Ancestral Roots of Sixty New England Colonists* (1964 reprint), line 1, p. 21.

l. *Winthrop Papers* (Massachusetts Historical Society (1947), vol. 5, p. 157).

m. *The American Genealogist, op. cit.*, p. 169.

n. Elizabeth was cousin to Morgan named in note g, above. Her mother, moreover, was cousin to Fulke Greville of Alcester, Warwick, direct ancestor to Mrs. Pelham and Lady Hesilrige mentioned in specifications (5) & (6). Moreover, Elizabeth's ancestor Henry Morgan had acquired the site of the dispossessed priory of the Augustinian friars in Droitwich in 1551; Gt. Britain, Callendar of Patent Rolls, entry of 26 Oct. 1551. For the Morgan pedigree see note p. below.

o. Gt. Britain, *Calendar of State Papers*, 1581-1590, p. 196, and the original supporting document, State Paper 12/172.

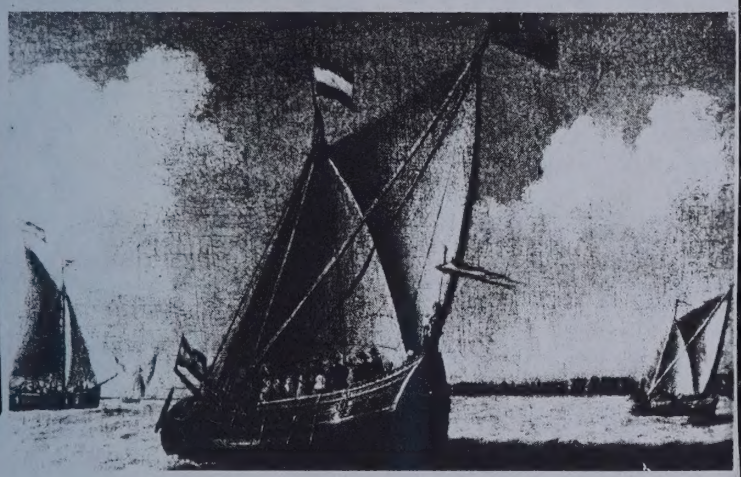
p. Harleian Society Publications, vol. 27, p. 97, 98; vol. 90, p. 50; vol. 21, p. 214, 215; John Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 3d ed., vol. 2, p. 158. Robert Morgan of Comberton and Eckington, co. Worcester, and Studley, co. Warwick, married by 1490 Anne, widow of Thomas le Strange and daughter of Sir Simon Mountford of Studley and Coleshill, co. Warwick. Their second son was Henry Morgan named in note n, above, who by Agnes, daughter of John Edwards, had Edward Morgan of Northfylde and Hanbury, co. Worcester. Edward married Dorothy Greville; their daughter was Elizabeth Morgan, supposed wife to Kenelm[6] Winslow. The aforesaid Sir Simon Mountford's descent from the Clintons is outlined in Wm. Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated*, 2d ed., vol. 2, p. 1007-1012.

A TRADITION IN SEARCH OF ITS ORIGIN

By Stanley E. Perin, of Marion, Ind.

The tradition of Indian blood in the Perin family is one of my earliest recollections—so early in fact that I cannot remember a time when it was not a part of the family lore. In childhood we accepted this story as readily as one accepts his own name. As adults, those of us who gave the subject further thought turned up some elements of a puzzling or even doubtful character. Most important perhaps is the absence in the family of any Indian physical traits. Our eyes are blue or gray as often as not; our hair is often fair, usually fine and sometimes wavy; and the men are well-endowed with facial hair, the lack of which is one of the most striking ways in which the Indian differs from the European.

Secondly, the family after reaching New England remained near



Above: Dutch Sea-scape, 17th Century, by Wencelaus Hol
Courtesy of The Pilgrim Society. This is one of the slides fr
their program, "Who Were the Pilgrims?"

Ralph Lane, first governor of Virginia, explained that the first settlers there were not of the proper type. Some had come only to search for silver and gold. Others

> had little understanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue than was needful or requisite. . . . Some also were of a nice bringing up, only in cities or townes, or such as never (as I may say) had seene the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their own accustomed dainty feed, nor any soft beds of downe or feathers, the countrey was to them miserable, and their reports thereof accordingly.[2]

During his stay in Virginia, John Smith planned an expedition north and wrote in 1616 *A Description of New England*. Smith made a major contribution to the settlement of America through this book, which contained a remarkably accurate map of the area. The Pilgrims had studied his map and read his writings. They carried it on the *Mayflower* and pored over it during their explorations of Cape Cod.

Captain Smith painted a glowing picture of Massachusetts:

> The waters are most pure, proceeding from the entrails of the mountains. The herbs and fruits are of many sorts and kinds, as alkerms, currants, mulberries, vines, respices, gooseberries, plums, walnuts, chestnuts, small nuts, etc., pumpkins, gourds, strawberries, beans, peas, and maize, a kind or two of flax, wherewith they make nets, lines, and ropes, both small and great, very strong for the quantities.
>
> Oak is the chief wood, of which there is great difference in regard of the soil where it groweth; fir, pine, walnut, chestnut, burch, ash, elm, cypress, cedar, mulberry, plumtree, hazel, saxifrage, and many other sorts.
>
> Whales, grampus, porpoises, turbot, sturgeon, cod, hake, haddock, cole, cusk (or small ling), shark, mackerel, herring, mullet, base, pinacks, cunners, perch, eels, crabs, lobsters, mussels, wilkes, oysters, and diverse others.
>
> Who can desire more content, that hath small means and plant only his merit to advance his fortune than to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he have but the taste of virtue and magnanimity, what to such a mind can be more pleasant than planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth by God's blessing and his own industry, without prejudice to any? If he have any grain of faith or zeal in religion, what can he do less hurtful to any, or more agreeable to God, than to seek to convert those poor savages to know Christ and humanity, whose labors with discretion will triple requite the charge and pains?[3]

The little company pondered the records of these English explorers. A copy of *Good News from Virginia*, was found in Brewster's library, written by a Puritan minister in Jamestown colony, Alexander Whitaker, and also two books on silkworms and their

culture. The production of silk in Virginia was under discussion and this trade appealed to the silk workers of Leyden among the Pilgrim circle. They also considered the controls that might exist there under a colony already established and under the authority of a king who held a grudge against them. Would it not be wiser to consider landing further north, in an area as yet unsettled and therefore freer from royal interference?

During this time Capt. Myles Standish, who had served as a soldier with the Dutch forces during their war with Spain, visited with Robinson and Brewster and decided to join the expedition. Descended from an old Roman Catholic Lancashire family, he was about thirty-six years of age, small in stature, and red-headed. "Captain Shrimp" was hot-tempered. As Bradford put it, "a little chimney is quickly fired." Although he was a stranger, he developed into a sterling citizen of Plimoth Plantation. Like most of the other strangers he was drawn to the spirit of the Leyden company, and he soon became a supporter of their principles.

The Leyden group had also explored the possibilities of settling under Dutch auspices in another section of the Netherlands, or in New Amsterdam in the New World. Winslow says that certain merchants and officials of the New Netherlands Company "made them large offers to induce them to go into Zeeland" or "to go under them to Hudson's River," offering them free transportation and the promise of cattle and other conveniences for every family. The New Netherlands Company petitioned the Stadtholders for protection of the Pilgrims if they should head for the Hudson. They wrote:

> Now it happens that there is residing at Leyden a certain English preacher, versed in the Dutch language, who is well inclined to proceed thither to live: assuring the Petitioners that he has the means of inducing over four hundred families to accompany him thither, both out of this country and England. Provided they would be guarded and preserved from all violence on the part of other potentates, by the authority and under the protection of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States General, in the propogation of the true [and] pure Christian religion, in the instruction of the Indians in that country in true learning, and in converting them to the Christian faith: and thus, through the mercy of the Lord, to the greater glory of the country's government, to plant there a new Commonwealth; all under the order and command of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States General.[4]

Robinson was familiar with the exploits of Hudson. His Dutch friends at the university talked about a New Amsterdam. Because of the friendly relations and the trustworthy qualities of the Netherlanders, there was much to be said about a settlement in the area. However, they preferred to live under English rule, if this could be achieved. Thomas Weston was a persuasive salesman and his urgings and promises also swung sentiment away from the Hudson. Weston came to Leyden and held conferences with Robinson and finally persuaded

The Pilgrim Way
by Robert U Bartlett

Carver Does this apply to Mayflower Gov. Carver?

Carver, Clifford Nicholas of Seaford ME & NY
Arms: Sable a chevron engrailed with a fleur de lis and in base a phon gold
Crest: Within a scallop silver (hinge upward) a Saracen's head in face face crapel at neck proper
Granted by Clerg of Arms 1733)

Gorsuch

193

Lovelace

194

Bernard

195

Reade

196

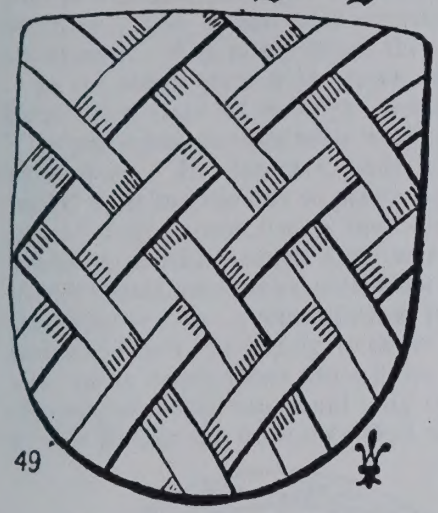
Hawes

197

Carver

198

Willoughby



49

Mason

50

Williams

51

Lewis

52

Bonyfton

53

Brawne

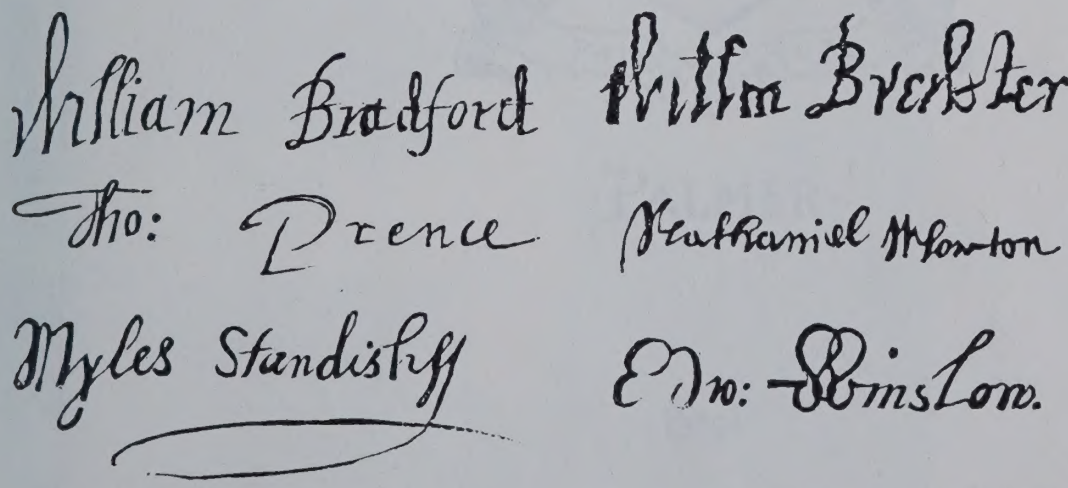
54

#54 – Browne, John – Plymouth Colony, New E., Eng.
Arms: Sable a lion silver on a bend Checky fce azure Crest: A demi-lion silver

Billington Sea is a lake of about six miles in circumference, about two miles south-west of the village, and from it issues the town brook. It was discovered by Francis Billington, about the first of January, 1621, while mounted on a tree standing on a hill. It was in the midst of a thick forest, and when seen at a distance Billington supposed it to be another sea. In this pond there are two small islands; the largest, containing about two acres, has been planted with apple trees. The pond is stocked with pickerel and perch, and the eagle is frequently seen cowering over it, having its nest in the vicinity. The fallow deer occasionally visits this pond for drink, and to browse on its margin. For many years this place was a favorite resort for social parties.

In the south part of the town of Plymouth, bordering on Sandwich and Wareham, there is a tract of country, nearly twenty miles square, chiefly covered with wood This place has always been well stocked with deer, but they are annually thinned off by hunters. In January, 1831, a heavy snow, laying about three feet deep, so impeded their motions as to prove fatal to a large proportion of the stock. The hunters provided themselves with snow-shoes, pursued the deer, and killed and captured two hundred, of which about forty were taken alive. There are on the road to Sandwich, in the woods, two rocks, called *Sacrifice Rocks*, which are covered with sticks and stones, which have been accumulating for centuries. It was the constant practice for the Indians, when passing by, to throw on the rock a stick or stone. The Rev. Mr. Hawley, who spent many years among the natives at Marshpee, endeavored to learn from them this singular rite, but could only conjecture that it was an acknowledgment of an invisible Being, the unknown God whom they worshipped, this pile being their altar.

The annexed is a reduced copy of the Old Colony seal, taken from the book of laws, published in 1685. Underneath are fac similes of the hand-writing of distinguished persons in the colony.



Immediately in the rear of Plymouth village is Burying Hill, formerly Fort Hill. It embraces about eight acres, and rises to the height of 165 feet above the level of the sea. On the summit of the south-western side, the Pilgrims at first erected some slight defences; but in 1675, on the approach of Philip's war, they erect-

·PALMER·

Penelope Winslow, Wife of Governor Winslow.

Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth.

Stepping Stones:

The Pilgrims' Own Story

Compiled and Edited By
Adelia White Notson
and Robert Carver Notson

Binford & Mort Publishing
Portland, OR 97209

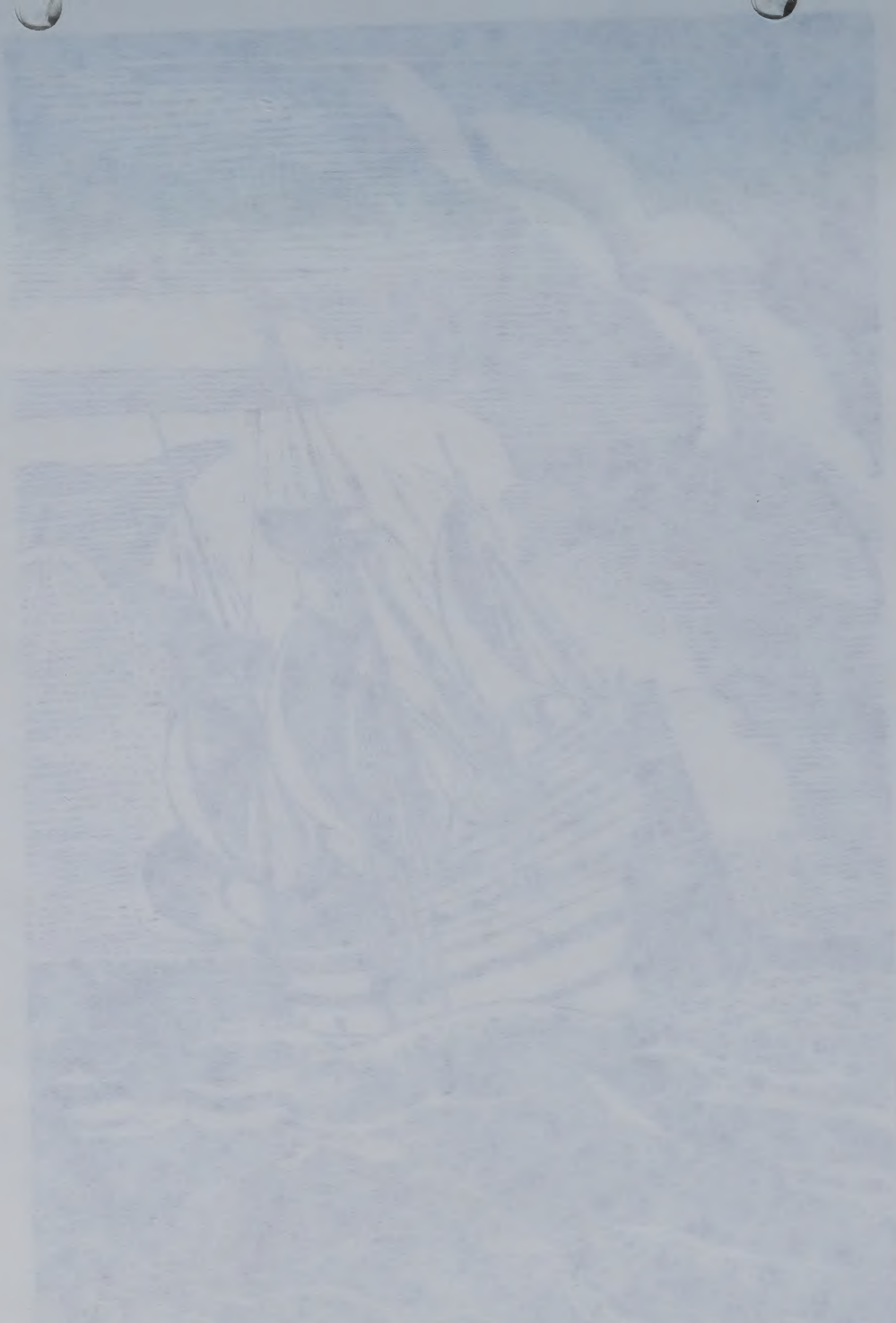
1620-1692

Stepping Stones:

The Pilgrims' Own Stor

Compiled and Edited By
Adelia White Notson
and Robert Carver Notso

Binford & Mort Publishing
Portland, OR 97209



given to what she could only see as deadly heresy; a heresy she could not burn out of her people.

She died on November 17th, 1558. At no time had she shown any understanding of the character of the English people and her rigid bigotry had induced, even in some of the ardent Catholics amongst them, that strong aversion to Roman Catholic rule which was never to leave them.

NINE

Gloriana

When Elizabeth heard that she had become Queen of England she knelt and said, 'It is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes.' It was indeed marvellous. It had been touch and go. She had been held in the Tower at the time of Wyatt's rebellion, and only Wyatt's sturdy denial, under torture, of her complicity had forced Mary to release her. Moreover, only Elizabeth stood between Mary Stuart and the English succession, a dangerous spot to be in, and she may have owed her safety, or partly owed it, to Philip of Spain who wanted no ally of France on the English throne. There is a famous assessment of the English situation quoted by Winston Churchill in his *History of the English Speaking Peoples*:

> 'The Queen poor, the realm exhausted, the nobility poor and decayed. Want of good captains and soldiers. The people out of order. Justice not executed. All things dear. Excess in meat, drink, and apparel. Divisions among ourselves. Wars with France and Scotland. The French King bestriding the realm, having one foot in Calais and the other in Scotland. Steadfast enmity but no steadfast friendship abroad.'

But the immediate problem was the religious one. An Englishman of say twenty in 1534 had been brought up in the ancient religion of his forefathers, a religion he would have thought likely to last until the end of the world. In that year, 1534, he had the shock of learning that Henry VIII was now the Head of the Church and not the Holy Father. At thirty-five he had to become a Protestant and worship to the English Prayer Book. At forty-one he was back to being a Catholic or else he risked 'going to the

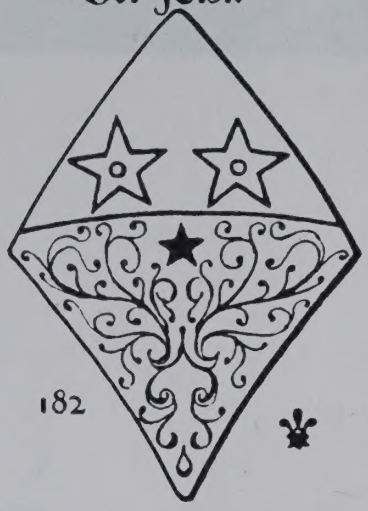
Winslow

Winslow, Edward. Gov. of the Plymouth Colony (Mayflower 1620
Arms: Gules a fess & Lozenges Gules & silver

Cooke

181

St. John



182

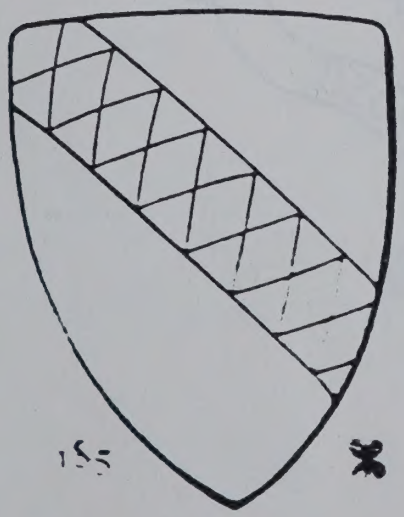
Skipwith

183

Vanbrugh

184

Winslow

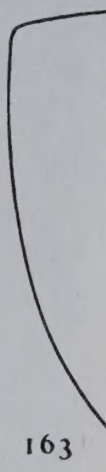


185

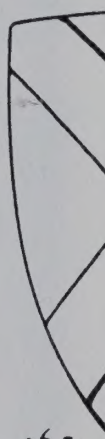
Nicoll

186

S

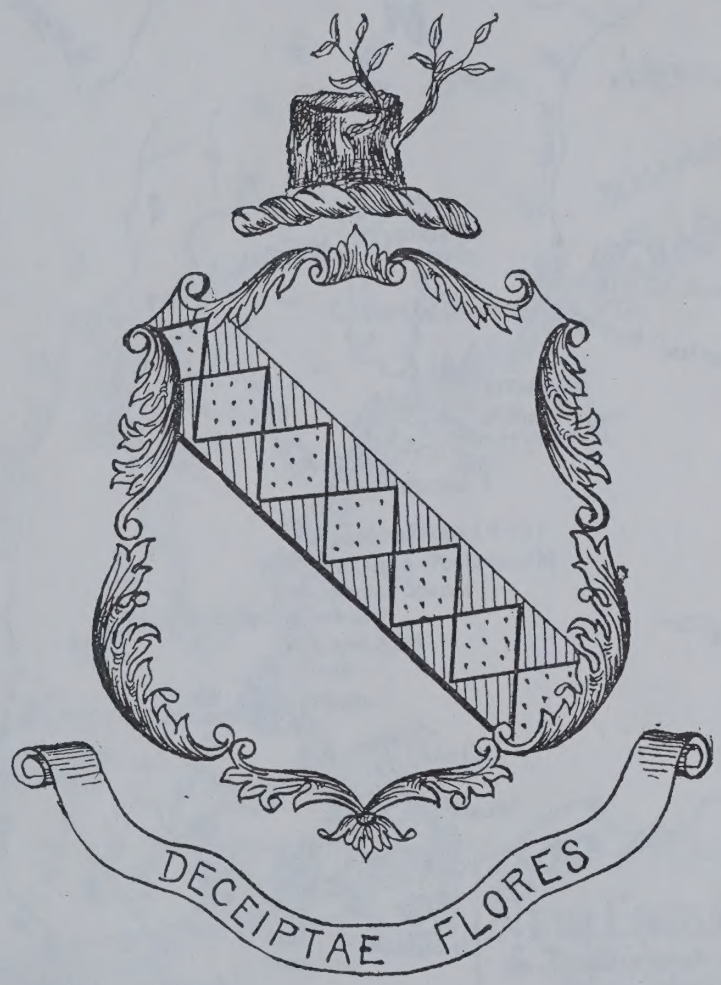


163



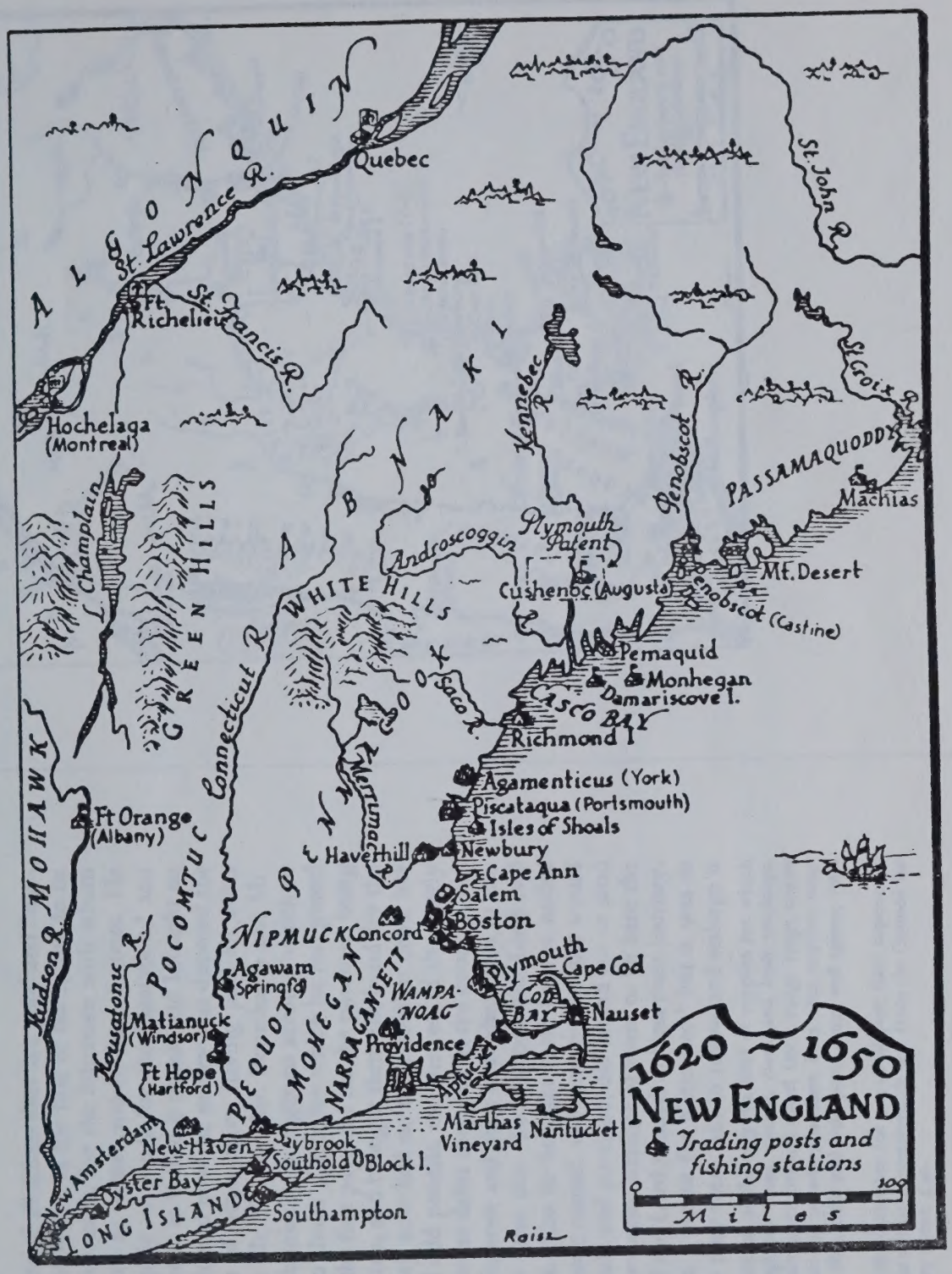
165

167



Winslow


ALGONQUIN
St. Lawrence R.
Quebec
St. John R.
Ft. Richelieu
St. Francis R.
Hochelaga (Montreal)
Kennebec R.
Penobscot R.
St. Croix R.
PASSAMAQUODDY
Machias
Champlain
GREEN HILLS
ABNAKI
Androscoggin
Plymouth Patent
Mt. Desert
Cushenoc (Augusta)
Penobscot (Castine)
WHITE HILLS
Pemaquid
Monhegan
Damariscove I.
CASCO BAY
Saco R.
Richmond I
Connecticut R.
Merrimac R.
Agamenticus (York)
Piscataqua (Portsmouth)
Isles of Shoals
Ft Orange (Albany)
Hudson R.
MOHAWK
Haverhill
Newbury
Cape Ann
Salem
Boston
NIPMUCK
Concord
POCOMTUC
Housatonic R.
Agawam (Springfield)
Plymouth
Cape Cod
WAMPANOAG
COD BAY
Nauset
Matianuck (Windsor)
Providence
Ft Hope (Hartford)
PEQUOT
MOHEGAN
NARRAGANSETT
Martha's Vineyard
Nantucket
New Haven
Saybrook
Southold
Block I.
New Amsterdam
Oyster Bay
LONG ISLAND
Southampton
1620 ~ 1650
NEW ENGLAND
Trading posts and fishing stations
0
100
Miles
Raisz


1620 ~ 1650
NEW ENGLAND
Trading posts and fishing stations
0
100
Miles
ALGONQUIN
St. Lawrence R.
Quebec
Ft. Richelieu
St. Francis R.
Hochelaga (Montreal)
Champlain
GREEN HILLS
ABNAKI
Kennebec R.
Penobscot R.
St. John R.
St. Croix R.
PASSAMAQUODDY
Machias
Androscoggin
Plymouth Patent
Cushenoc (Augusta)
Mt. Desert
Penobscot (Castine)
WHITE HILLS
Pemaquid
Monhegan
Damariscove I.
CASCO BAY
Saco R.
Richmond I
Agamenticus (York)
Piscataqua (Portsmouth)
Isles of Shoals
Merrimac R.
Haverhill
Newbury
Cape Ann
Salem
Boston
Concord
NIPMUCK
Connecticut R.
POCOMTUC
Ft Orange (Albany)
MOHAWK
Hudson R.
Housatonic R.
Agawam (Springfd)
Matianuck (Windsor)
Ft Hope (Hartford)
PEQUOT
MOHEGAN
NARRAGANSETT
WAMPANOAG
Plymouth
Cape Cod
C. Cod Bay
Nauset
Providence
Narragansett
Martha's Vineyard
Nantucket
New Haven
Saybrook
Southold
Block I.
New Amsterdam
Oyster Bay
LONG ISLAND
Southampton
Raise

him nor any of their friends' faithfulness, which made them more remiss in looking to such acts as had passed under their hands, as necessary for the time. But letting them run on too long unminded or recalled, it turned to their harm afterwards as will appear in its place. |157|

Mr. Allerton having settled all things thus in a good and hopeful way, he made haste to return in the first of the spring to be here, with their supply for trade, for the fishermen with whom he came used to set forth in winter and be here betimes. He brought a reasonable supply of goods for the Plantation,[5] and without those great interests as before is noted; and brought an account of the beaver sold and how the money was disposed for goods, and the payment of other debts, having paid all debts abroad to others, save to Mr. Sherley, Mr. Beauchamp and Mr. Andrews, from whom likewise he brought an account which to them all amounted not to above £400, for which he had passed bonds. Also he had paid the first payment for the purchase, being due for this year, viz. £200, and brought them the bond for the same, canceled. So as they now had no more foreign debts but the abovesaid £400 and odd pounds, and the rest of the yearly purchase money. Some other debts they had in the country, but they were without any interest and they had wherewith to discharge them when they were due. To this pass the Lord had brought things for them. Also he brought them further notice that their friends, the above named, and some others that would join with them in the trade and purchase, did intend for to send over to Leyden for a competent number of them to be here the next year without fail, if the Lord pleased to bless their journey.

He also brought them a patent for Kennebec,[6] but it was so strait and ill bounded as they were fain to renew and enlarge it

[5] Sherley's invoice is of interest as showing the kind of supplies for which the Colony depended on England: shoes, leather, cloth and Irish stockings; pitch, tar, ropes and twine; knives, scissors and rowel (*sic*); rudge (rugs, coarse thick woolen cloth); lead, shot and powder; hatchets, hoes, axes, scythes, reap-hooks, shovels, spades, saws, files, nails and iron pots; drugs and spices; total value, £232.

[6] This patent for land on the Kennebec for a trading post, later superseded by the one of 13 Jan. 1630, has not been preserved. It was from the Council for New England and cost Sherley about £40.

d bass and other fish, of
:h every fa[illegible]y had their
want; and now began to
ached, of which this place
it afterward decreased by
e was great store of wild
sides venison, etc. Besides
to a person, or now since
. Which made many after-
y here to their friends in
true reports.[8]

rtune]

lvemonth that themselves
em unexpected or looked

out them, but with great shame-
an some of our English women

to a friend in England describ-
urt's Relation pp. 60–5:
sent four men on fowling, that
ce together, after we had gath-
ne day killed as much fowl as,
almost a week. At which time,
ns, many of the Indians coming
t king, Massasoit with some 90
d feasted. And they went out
plantation and bestowed on our

related. See William De Loss
land (1895).

Plymouth Bay • 1620–1650

Soundings and Channels from Chart in The Atlantic Neptune, 1780
Land Data from U.S. Geological Surveys 1853–1934

PLYMOUTH BAY • 1620-1650

Soundings and Channels from Chart in The Atlantic Neptune, 1780

Land Data from U.S. Geological Surveys 1853-1934


42'
38'
70°36'
4'
2'
42°
58'
41°
56'
40'
Sandy Plain
Winslow House
Rouses Hummock
Duxbury
Powder Pt.
Eels R.
DUXBURY BEACH
High Pines
Eagles Nest
DUXBURY BAY
Captains Hill
190
Clark I.
Brewster Pt
Saquish Cove
The Gurnet
Saquish Head
Rocky Nook
BROWN'S BANK
Jones R.
Nathans Brook
Horse Race
Goose Pt.
Dotens Cliff
Goose R. Ch'l
LONG BEACH
PLYMOUTH HARBOR
Smelt Pond
The Rock
Plymouth
Warrens Cove
MANOMET HILL
195
Billington Sea
Sandy Hills
CAPE COD BAY
PLYMOUTH BAY • 1620-1650
Soundings and Channels from Chart in The Atlantic Neptune, 1780
Land Data from U.S. Geological Surveys 1853-1934
0 1 2 3
Nautical Miles
Soundings in fathoms
Raisz

PLYMOUTH BAY • 1620-1650

Soundings and Channels from Chart in The Atlantic Neptune, 1780

Land Data from U.S. Geological Surveys 1853-1934

0 1 2 3

Nautical Miles

Soundings in fathoms

Raisz

3. The Agreement of the Bounds Betwixt Plymouth and Massachusetts.[3] 9 June 1640 |232|

Whereas there were two commissions granted by the two jurisdictions, the one of Massachusetts Government, granted unto John Endecott gent., and Israel Stoughton gent.; the other of New Plymouth Government, to William Bradford governor, and Edward Winslow gent.; and both these for the setting out, settling and determining of the bounds and limits of the lands between the said jurisdictions, whereby not only this present age but the posterity to come may live peaceably and quietly in that behalf. And forasmuch as the said commissioners on both sides have full power so to do, as appeareth by the records of both jurisdictions, we therefore, the said commissioners above named, do hereby with one consent and agreement conclude, determine and by these presents declare:

That all the marshes at Cohasset that lie of the one side of the river next to Hingham shall belong to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Plantation, and all the marshes that lie on the other side of the river next to Scituate shall belong to the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, excepting 60 acres of marsh at the mouth of the river on Scituate side next to the sea, which we do hereby agree, conclude and determine shall belong to the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts.

And further, we do hereby agree, determine and conclude, that the bounds of the limits between both the said jurisdictions are as followeth; viz., from the mouth of the brook that runneth into Cohasset marshes (which we call by the name of Bound Brook) with a straight and direct line to the middle of a great pond that lieth on the right hand of the upper path or common way that leadeth between Weymouth and Plymouth, close to the path as we |233| go along, which was formerly named (and still we desire may be called) Accord Pond,[4] lying about five or six miles from Weymouth southerly, and from thence with a straight line to the southernmost part of Charles River[5] and three miles southerly inward into the country,

according as is expressed in the patent granted by His Majesty to Company of the Massachusetts Plantation. Provided always and never the less concluded and determined by mutual agreement between the said commissioners, that if it fall out that the said line from Accord Pond to the southernmost part of Charles River, and three miles southerly as is before expressed, straiten or hinder any part of any plantation begun by the Government of New Plymouth, or hereafter

---

[3] Also printed in *Plymouth Colony Records* IX 1. Bradford, in copying it, modestly omitted the *Esqr*. after his name.

[4] Bound Brook is the stream that flows over a ledge of rocks into Cohasset Harbor; the place where the main road (Justice Cushing Highway) crosses it is marked. Accord Pond is in the south part of Hingham; the old "Common Way" in the main is followed by the present Route 3.

[5] Which is Charles River may still be questioned (Bradford). And still was being questioned two centuries later! In 1642 the Bay sent Nathaniel Woodward and Solomon Saffry (described as "skillful artists" and "mathematicians" by Massachusetts authorities, as "a pair of obscure sailors" by the Rhode Islanders) to find the source of the Charles. Leaving the main stream at a point in Medway, they ascended a southward-flowing tributary known at different eras as Jack's Pasture Brook, Stop River and Mill River, to its source in the pond once called Wrentham, later Whitney, and now Lake Pearl. From that they pushed three miles south and drove in a stake, since called the "Woodward and Saffry Station" on the plain which gives its name to the present town of Plainville. They took a solar observation and declared the latitude of this station to be 41°55′ N. In reality it was 42°01′30″, slightly north and about 1 mile east of Burnt Swamp Corner (lat. 42°01′08.35″ N, long. 71°22′54.51″ W), which determines the present NE corner of Rhode Island. An 18th-century copy of Woodward and Saffry's survey is reproduced in 1912 ed. Bradford II 280, but a much clearer sketch from it is in Clarence W. Bowen *Boundary Disputes of Connecticut* (1883) p. 19.

Next, on 9 May 1664 a committee of five from the Bay Colony and Plymouth (Constant Southworth and Josiah Winslow being the Plymouth representatives) met at Dedham, followed the former route up the Charles and Mill Rivers to Lake Pearl, and then stretched a much more generous 3 miles southward to "a white oak in a plain full of trees," which they marked. This station, since called the Angle Tree Bound, was marked by a tall granite shaft in 1790. The Joint Commission of 1664 laid out a line W past Sneech Pond until it hit the Nipmuck (Blackstone) River, returned to the Angle Tree, and then pushed ENE through the woods to Accord Pond. They missed the pond by half a mile, made a fresh start from a black oak halfway down that pond's western shore, and returned through the woods to the Angle Tree (*Massachusetts Bay Records* IV Part 2 pp. 115–16). This "Old Colony Line," as it was called, became the boundary between the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth Colonies; it is still the boundary between Norfolk County on the north and Bristol and Plymouth Counties on the south. Since either the Angle Tree or the Woodward and Saffry Station was supposed to fix the northern boundaries of Rhode Island and Connecticut, both colonies claimed that they had been cheated by Massachusetts taking Lake Pearl for the source of the Charles River, which really rises in the town of Hopkinton near Hayden Row. Rhode Island, however, consented to have the line run about as Massachusetts claimed, in 1718 and 1726. After interminable squabbles about which colony should tax the border towns, the subject was finally threshed out before the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Rhode Island vs. Massachusetts, in 1846, 4 Howard or 45 U. S. Reports 591–640. Justice McLane, delivering the opinion of the Court, declared in effect that if Rhode Island had originally been cheated, she had been cheated so long ago that the well-established boundary should not be upset.

Thanks, Squanto:

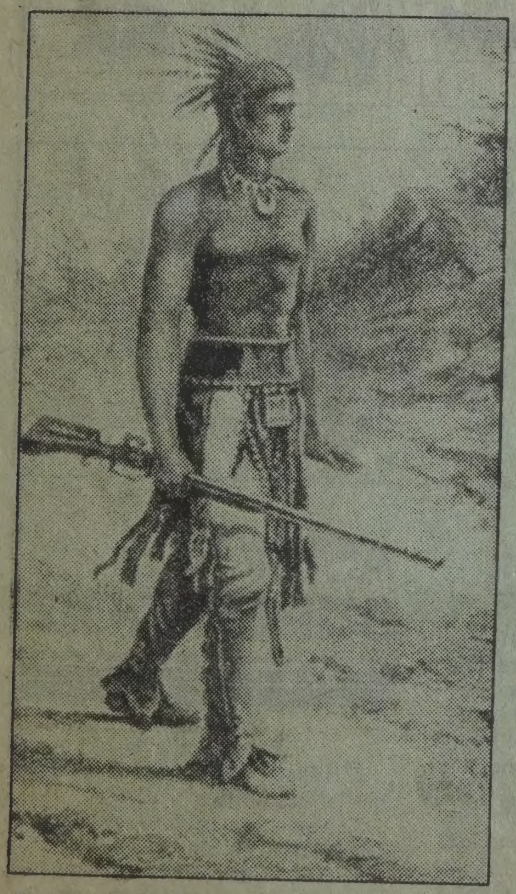
By CHARLES DOWNEY
Special to The Journal

A KINDLY, English-speaking American Indian made possible the very first Thanksgiving in 1621. It happened like this:

In the spring before the first Thanksgiving feast, a group of ragged, sickly English settlers, the people we've come to know as Pilgrims, were working in a field near Plymouth Plantation, their 4-month-old settlement. The mood was grim because half their number — 52 — had died of sickness, hunger and cold since the previous December, when they disembarked from the Mayflower. Life had been so hard that there were virtually no thoughts of giving thanks for anything.

Somebody looked up and gasped. Walking toward them from the woods was a tall, naked Indian. The women sheltered their children, and the men, hearts in their mouths, stood in front of their families. If there was to be a fight, three or four of the weakened settlers would be needed to match a single, healthy Indian. Moreover, there might be other Indians lurking in the woods. The men gripped their axes and knives with white knuckles. The Pilgrims were apprehensive because Indians had been skulking about the settlement at night and had stolen some valuable tools.

The Indian walked up to the group, raised his hand and said, in broken English, "Welcome, welcome, Englishmen. Have you beer?" The flabbergasted settlers had no beer, but they did offer him "strong water," a type of hard liquor, a biscuit and some cheese. That Indian, Samoset, had asked for beer because that's what English people of the 1620s consumed with breakfast, lunch and dinner. The trade routes had not yet been opened to the Far East, so tea and coffee were not available. Moreover, the Pilgrims considered the water unhealthy to drink.



An artist took a guess at how Squanto might have looked

Samoset had learned some English — and beer-drinking — from English fishermen who had plied the bountiful waters off New England for a century before the Mayflower landed. The fishermen stayed in the Cape Cod area from February through September and hauled their pickled or salted catch back to England. During those months, much trading and other contact occurred between Indians and English.

Samoset, an Algonquin from Maine, was visiting Indians in the area and told of yet another Indian, Squanto, who spoke much better English because he had lived in London. Samoset spent the night in the home of Stephen Hopkins and arranged for the return of the stolen tools from local Indians the next day. He said he would be back with his friend Squanto.

The settlers at Plymouth had lived mostly in English and Dutch cities and were inept in the New World. For instance, during their first month at Cape Cod Bay, one of the world's richest fishing grounds, they caught the total of one codfish. Moreover, the soil at Plymouth Plantation was sandy and acidic, so English seeds and some crops would not grow.

A week later, Squanto showed up at Plymouth and took the struggling settlers under his wing, showing them where and how to fish and hunt and what seeds to plant. He pointed out the useful plants and herbs in the forest and the trick of stomping in the mud of creeks and streams to drive eel to the surface, where they could be caught by hand. It was Squanto who showed the settlers how to fertilize crops by dropping a fish with each kernel of corn into a little hill of dirt. The English were unusually industrious, so, armed with the knowledge of how to survive in the New World, they produced bumper crops of grains, vegetables, squash, fruits and berries. They also filled their larders with fish, shellfish and game.

Wrote Edward Winslow to a friend in England after the summer of 1621: "By the goodness of God, we are so far from want we often wish you could partake of our plenty."

Were it not for Squanto, there would have been no Thanksgiving in 1621 because the colony probably would have died out. William Bradford wrote in his "History of Plimmoth Plantation": "Squanto was their interpreter and was a special instrument sent of God for their good, beyond their expectations."

Squanto's own story has emerged somewhat blurred.

It is known for certain that, in 1614, he had been shanghaied, along with 23 others of his tribe, by Capt. Thomas Hunt. Hunt was selling the Indians into slavery at Malaga, Spain, when Jesuit priests halted the sales. Squanto and several other Indians were kept with the priests in Malaga for instruction in the Christian faith.

You can credit this Indian with Thanksgiving

Artist J.L.G. Ferris painted this version of the first Thanksgiving three centuries after it was held

Some historians think that Squanto had been kidnaped once before, in 1605, by Capt. George Waymas and taken to Plymouth, England, says Carolyne Travers, research librarian at Plimoth Plantation Library in Massachusetts. (Plymouth was spelled variously as Plimoth or Plimmoth). "The confusion is created because the records show that one of the Massachusetts Indians kidnaped in 1605 was named 'Tisquantum.' "

After his time in Malaga, Squanto next showed up in London. Although it's not clear why or how he got there, American Indians and other native peoples from around the world often were exhibited for curious city crowds. But during Squanto's time in the English capital, he lived with an English merchant, John Swayney. Swayney then was in the business of financing voyages of exploration, so Squanto's knowledge of geographical features, raw goods, plants, herbs, game and fur-bearing animals in the New World was invaluable.

About 1616, Squanto set sail for Newfoundland with Thomas Dermer, an explorer in the employ of Fernando Georges and the Council of New England. Squanto served as guide, interpreter and, occasionally, peacemaker there until about 1618.

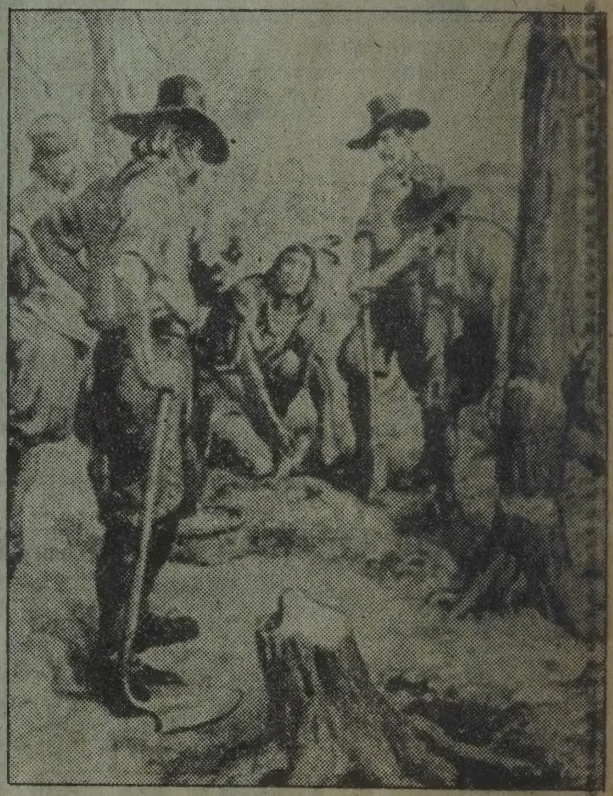
Near what is now the Charles River in Massachusetts, an unknown English sea captain took a group of Pocanawkits Indians aboard his vessel for a tour and ended up killing them all. Thereafter, that tribe of Indians bore special malice toward all Englishmen. When Dermer was captured by the Pocanawkits in 1620, Squanto intervened and talked them out of killing his captain. Later that same year, while exploring what is now Virginia, Dermer, Squanto and a rowboat full of men were attacked by Indians. Dermer suffered 15 wounds while fighting off his attackers; all the others except Squanto were slain. Dermer died some months later of his wounds and illness.

When Squanto made his way back to his ancestral lands in Massachusetts, he discovered his entire tribe, the Patuxat, had been wiped out by the plague. He was a man without kin or country.

"Squanto was creating a job and a position of influence for himself with the Pilgrims," Travers says. "He was accustomed to working with the English and well knew the value of his services."

Using guile, Squanto helped arrange an important peace treaty. The English settlers at Plymouth were burying their dead at night so the Indians would not discover how few they had become. Squanto observed that the settlers stored their

Please see **Squanto**, Page 4G



Squanto showed the Pilgrims how to fertilize corn mounds with fish

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL
Thursday, November 24, 1988
Section G

Squanto

From Page 1G

gunpowder under the Commonhouse. So Squanto told Massasoit, the most feared and respected Indian chief within hundreds of miles, that the English had plague stored there, and if angered or attacked, they would release it. That terrified the Indians, who had seen entire tribes wiped out because of European plague. Indeed, had not all of Squanto's own people perished of the pestilence?

In September 1621, about a month before the Pilgrim's Thanksgiving feast, a treaty with nine other chiefs was signed, thanks to Massasoit's wide influence.

When the first Thanksgiving took place, Indians outnumbered the settlers 90 to 50. That was because Massasoit invited himself to the celebration and brought the retinue with whom he usually traveled. Because there were many games and contests between the Indians and English, Squanto was kept busy translating.

Squanto helped Plymouth's treasury by showing the English how Indians used beaver pelts as a medium of exchange and the chief article of wealth. Later, on a beaver-trading mission, Squanto and another Indian friendly with the English, Hobbamock, broke into a knife-and-tomahawk-rattling argument with a tribe 14 miles away. Hobbamock ran away and reported that he feared for Squanto's life. Squanto was so valuable to the English community that Capt. Miles Standish and 14 armed men were sent to rescue him. Standish and his men crept up on the village, held the Indians at musket point, found Squanto alive, and brought him back to Plymouth.

(Hobbamock eventually gave up Indian ways, studied the Bible all day, spent all his time with the English, and was always, as Bradford noted, "sucking in more and more knowledge of this great good God.")

By 1622, the final year of Squanto's life, historians think he had become somewhat drunk with power and was using his lofty position for personal gain. He threatened several times to unlease the feared plague on the Indians unless he was given gifts and other bribes.

Eventually, Massasoit, the powerful chief, discovered the ruse about the plague and demanded Squanto's head and hands, per Indian law, for the deception. Plymoth's governor could not go to war and was prepared to hand Squanto over to Massasoit's executioners when a ship appeared on the horizon. Rumors had been rampant about the French, whom the English as well as Indians feared, the former because of war and the latter because the French often used smallpox to wipe out native villages. So Squanto was forgotten for the moment.

Later, the English and Massasoit agreed that if any more lies were told to the Indians, the liars would be punished. Moreover, the settlers and Massasoit had become firm friends, thanks in large part to the three-day Thanksgiving feast, and did not want to force the issue. But Squanto had created enemies and had to stay close to Plymouth for the rest of his life.

In the fall of 1622, Squanto fell sick "of an Indean feavor" and bled heavily from the nose while on a trading mission to Manamoyack Bay. After a few days, Squanto died and was buried in what is now Chatham, Mass.

Massasoit remained a good friend of the English until his death in 1662.

Sept., 1712; Hannah, b. Sept, 1714; John, b. Mar. 20, 1715–6; Samuel, b. Mar. 16, 1719–20; Eunice, b. June 12, 1722.

Octo., 1732, Henry Willson m. Mary Harding.

John Young and wife Dinah. Children, John, b. July 2d, 1733; Jedida, b. Mar. 7, 1737–8.

Dec. 15, 1731, Elisha Young, Jr., m. Bethia Smith of Chatham.

John Young and wife Dinah. Children, Zipporah, b. Aug. 5, 1730.

Does not cover Plymouth

THE FIRST SETTLERS OF EASTHAM, MASS.

By David Hamblin, Member of the N. E. Historic-Genealogical Society.

In the year 1644 The Court doth grant unto the church of New Plymouth or those that goe to dwell at Nausett (Eastham) all that tractt of land lying between sea & sea from the purchasers bounds at Namseakett to the hearing brooke att Billingsgate with the saide hearing brooke & all the Medows on both side the saide brooke with the greatt basse pond these & all the Medows & Islands lying within the saide tractt.

Inhabitants May 22, 1655.

Henry Atkins,
Stephen Atwood,
Edward Bangs,
Richard Booshop,
Josiah Cook,
Job Cole,
Daniel Cole,
George Crisp,
John Doane,
John Freeman,
Richard Higgins,
Giles Hopkins,
Renhard Knowles,
John Mayo,
Nathaniel Mayo,
William Merrick,
Gov. Thomas Prence,
Thomas Paine,
Joseph Rogers,
Thomas Roberts,
Mark Snow,
Nicholas Snow,
Jonathan Sparrow,
Renhard Sparrow,
Ralph Smith,
John Smalley,
William Twining,
Thomas Williams,
Robert Wexame,
John Young.

Inhabitants Admitted before 1675.

John Bangs,
Jonathan Bangs, Sen.,
Joshua Bangs,

Israel Cole,
John Doane, Jr.,
Daniel Doane, Sen.,
John Freeman, Jr.,
Thomas "
Samuel " Sen.,
" " Jr.,
Edmond "
Thomas Higgins,
Jonathan Higgins, Sen.,
Jonathan Higgins, Jr.,
Benjamin "
Joseph Harding,
Stephen Hopkins, Sen.,
Joshua "
William Merrick, Jr.,
Samuel Mayo, Sen.,
Thomas Paine, Jr.,
John Paine,
Isaac Pepper,
Thomas Rogers,
John "
Stephen Snow,
Nicholas "
Samuel Smith,
Thomas "
John Sparrow,
William Walker.

Inhabitants in 1695.

Atkins Henry,
" "
" Nathaniel,
" Joseph,
Atwood Stephen, Sen.,
" " Jr.,
" Eldad,
" Daniel,
Bangs John,
" Jonathan,
" Joshua,
Brown George,
" Samuel,
" William,
" Samuel,
Bills Thomas,
Cole Daniel, Sen.,
" " Jr.,
" John,
" Israel,
" Samuel,
" Timothy,
" John, Jr.,
" Thomas,
Collins, Joseph,
Cook Joseph,
" Jonah, Jr.,
Crosby Thomas,
Doane John,
" " Jr.,
" Daniel,
" Ephraim,
" Joseph,
" Isaac,
" Israel,
Freeman Stephen,
" John, Jr.,
" Thomas,
Freeman Samuel, Jr.,
" Edmond,
" William,
" Constant,
" Nathaniel,
Harding Joseph,
" Ameziah,
" Josiah,
Higgins Jonathan,
" Benjamin,
" John,
" Jonathan, Jr.,
" Ichabod,
" Joseph,
Hopkins Stephen,
" Joshua,
" Joshua,
Knowles Samuel,
Linnell Jonathan,
Mayo Daniel,
" John,
" Nathaniel,
" Thomas,
" Samuel, Sen.,
" "
" James,
Merrick Ensign,
" "
" Thomas,
Mulford Thomas,
" " Jr.,
" John,
Paine Thomas,
" " Jr.,
" Samuel,
" Elisha,
" John,
" Nicholas,
Paine Joseph,
Rich Joseph,
Remick Abraham,
Rogers James,
Smith Ralph,
" "
" Samuel,
" " Jr.,
" Thomas,
" Jeremiah,
Sparrow Jonathan,
" "
" John,
" Richard,
Snow Mark,
" Stephen,
" John,
" Joseph,
" Jabez,
" Nicholas,
" Joseph, Jr.,
" Benjamin,
" Micaiah,
Sanderland,
Treat,
Twining William,
" "
Waxam Robert,
" Tiles,
" Barnabas,
Walker Jabez,
" William, Sen.,
" " Jr.,
Williams Thomas,
Young John,
" Joseph,
" Nathaniel,
" Robert.

Families of the First Settlers.

Henry Atkins, m. Elizabeth; she d. March 14, 1661–2. Children, Samuel, b. Feb. 28, 1651; Isaac, b. June 15, 1654; Isaac, b. June 14, 1657; m. 2d w. Bethiah Linnell, March 25, 1664; Desire, b. May 7,

1665; John, b. Dec. 15, 1666, d. young; Joseph, b. March 4, 1669; Nathaniel, b. Dec. 25, 1667; Thomas, b. June 19, 1671; John, b. Aug. 6, 1674; Marcy, b. Nov. 24, 1676; Samuel, b. June 25, 1679.

Joseph Atkins, m. Martha; chn. Joseph, b. Dec. 9, 1701; Martha, b. Nov. 9, 1711; Anna, b. Dec. 12, 1713; Paul, b. Aug. 11, 1716; James, b. Dec. 25, 1718; John, b. Jan. 18, 1720–21; Uriah, b. Sept. 7, 1722; Hannah, b. April 4, 1726.

Nathaniel Atkins, m. Winnie; chn. Nathaniel, b. Nov. 21, 1694; Henry, b. Aug. 2, 1696; Bethiah, b. May 4, 1698; Joshua, b. April —, 1702; Isaiah, b. Feb. 24, 1703–4; Elizabeth, b. Jan. 4, 1708–9.

Stephen Atwood, he d. Feb. —, 1693–4, m. —; chn. Medad, b. Jan. 16, 1658–9.

Medad Atwood, m. Esther; chn. Mercy, b. June 26, 1686; Abigail, b. June 15, 1689; David, b. Oct. 20, 1691; Samuel, b. March 20, 1695; Esther, b. March 15, 1699; Phebe, b. June 9, 1702; Nathan, b. June 27, 1705.

Eldad Atwood, m. Anna Snow, Feb. 14, 1683; chn. Marie, b. Nov. —, 1684; John, b. Aug. 10, 1686; Anna, b. Jan. —, 1687–8; Deborah, b. March —, 1690; Sarah, b. April —, 1692; Eldad, b. July 9, 1695; Ebenezer, b. March —, 1697–8; Benjamin, b. June —, 1701.

Thomas Bills, m. Anna Twinings, Oct. 3, 1672, she d. Sept. 1, 1675; chn. Anna, b. June 28, 1673, Elisabeth, b. Aug. 23, 1675; 2d w. Joanna Twining, May 2, 1676; Nathaniel, b. June 25, 1677; Mercy, b. April 14, 1679; Mehitable, b. March 26, 1681; Thomas, b. March 22, 1684; Gurshom, b. June 5, 1686; Joanna, b. Dec. 2, 1688.

Samuel Brown, d. Dec. 3, 1691, aged 31, m. Martha Harding, Feb. 19, 1682; chn. Bethiah, b. Jan. 22, 1683, d. June 27, 1685; Bethia, b. Sept. 9, 1685; Martha, b. June 24, 1688, d. Nov. 4, 1691; Samuel, b. Nov. 7, 1690.

James Brown, m. Deborah; chn. Martha, b. March —, 1694; James, b. June 14, 1696; Deborah, b. April —, 1699; Ziddiah, b. May —, 1701; Thomas, b. March 4, 1702–3.

William Brown, m. Susannah Harding, Oct. 27, 1699; chn. Susannah, b. Oct. 30, 1700; Ziddiah, b. April 30, 1702.

John Brown, m.; chn. Sarah, b. Nov. —, 1690; John, b. July 7, 1692; Hannah, b. May 1, 1694; Zebulon; b. March 17, 1696; David, b. May 1, 1699; Mary, b. May —, 1704.

Jonathan Bangs, m. Mary Mayo, July 16, 1664; chn. Edward, b. Sept. 30, 1665; Rebeckah, b. Feb. 1, 1667; Jonathan, b. April 30, 1670, d. May 11, 1670; Mary, b. April 14, 1671; Jonathan, b. May 4, 1673; Hannah, b. March 14, 1676; Thomson, b. May —, 1678; Samuel, b. July 12, 1680; Merrie, b. Jan. 7, 1682; Elisabeth, b. May 15, 1685; Sarah, b. Aug. —, 1689, probably 1687; Lydia, b. Oct. 2, 1689.

Joshua Bangs, m. Hannah Scudder, Dec. 1, 1669; left Joshua Bangs, d. Jan. 14, 1709–10.

John Bangs, m. Hannah Smalley, Jan. 23, 1660.

Josiah Cooke, Sen., he d. Oct. 17, 1673.

Josiah Cooke, he d. Jan. 31, 1731–2, m. Deborah Hopkins, July 27, 1668; chn. Elisabeth, b. Oct. 12, 1669, d. April, 1670: Josiah, b. Nov. 12, 1670; Richard, b. Sept. 1, 1672; Elisabeth, b. June —, 1674; Caleb, b. Nov. 15, 1676; Deborah, b. Feb. 15, 1678; Joshua, b. Feb. 4, 1682; Benjamin, b. Feb. 28, 1686.

Josiah Cooke, m. Mary; chn. Desire, b. June 14, 1694; Deborah, b. April 12, 1696; John, b. April 9, 1698; Mary, b. Feb. 8, 1699–1700.

Daniel Cole, m. Ruthy; chn. John, b. July 15, 1644; Timothy, b.

Sept. 15, 1646; Hepzeibah, b. April 15, 1649: Reuth, b. April 15, 1651; Israel, b. June 8, 1653; James, b. Nov. 30, 1655; Mary, b. March 10, 1658; William, b. Sept. 15, 1663. Daniel Cole, d. Dec. 21, 1694, aged 80; wife Ruth d. Dec. 15, 1694, aged 67.

Job Cole, m. Rebecca; she d. Dec. 29, 1698, aged 88.

John Cole, m. Ruth Snow, Dec. 12, 1666; he d. Jan. 6, 1724–5; wife d. Jan. 27, 1716–17; chn. Ruth, b. March 11, 1667–8; John, b. March 6, 1669–70; Hephzibah, b. June —, 1672; Hannah, b. March 27, 1675; Joseph, b. June 11, 1677; Mary, b. Oct. 22, 1679; Sarah, b. June 10, 1682.

Israel Cole, m. Mary Rogers, April 24, 1679; chn. Hannah, b. June 28, 1681; Israel, b. June 28, 1685.

William Cole, m. Hannah Snow, Dec. 2, 1686, she d. June 23, 1737; chn. Elisha, b. Jan. 26, 1688–9; David, b. Oct. 4, 1691; Hannah, b. Dec. 15, 1693; Jane, b. Jan. 4, 1695–6.

John Cole, m. Mary; he d. Dec. 13, 1746; wife d. Feb. 17, 1731–2; chn. Jonathan, b. Oct. 4, 1694; John, b. Oct. 14, 1696; Mary, b. Aug. 25, 1698; James, b. Oct. 23, 1700; Nathan, b. Jan. 21, 1702–3; Joshua, b. March 20, 1704–5; Moses, b. July 22, 1707; Phebe, b. Oct. 29, 1709–10; Thankful, b. Oct. 20, 1712; Joseph, b. Oct. 13, 1714; Thankful, b. Oct. 19, 1716.

George Crispe, m. Hephzibah Cole, May 24, 1677; chn. Mary, b. Dec. 9, 1678; Mercie, b. Oct. 15, 1681; m. George Crispe, d. July 28, 1682.

Nathaniel Covel, m. Judeth Nickerson, of Monomoy, March 1, 1696–7.

Joseph Collins, m. Duty Knowles, March 20, 1671–2; chn. Saraie, b. Jan. 2, 1672; John, b. Dec. 18, 1674; Leedia, b. July —, 1676; Joseph, b. June —, 1678; Hannah, b. Feb. —, 1680; Jonathan, b. Aug. 20, 1682; Jane, b. March 3, 1683–4; Benjamin, b. Feb. 6, 1687; James, b. March 10, 1689, d. March 31, 1689.

Thomas Crosbie, or Crosby; chn. Thomas, b. April 7, 1663; Simon, b. July 5, 1665; Sarah, b. March 24, 1667; Joseph, b. Jan. 27, 1668, John, b. Dec. 4, 1670, John, b. Dec. 4, 1670, d. Feb. 11, 1670–1, twins; William, b. March —, 1673; Ebenezer, b. March 28, 1675; Anne, Mercy, and Increase, b. April 14 & 15, 1678, at a birth; Eliezer, b. March 30, 1680.

Simon Crosby, m. Mary Nickerson, Aug. 27, 1691; chn. Samuel, b. July 11, 1692; Elizabeth, b. Sept. 15, 1693.

Joseph Crosby, m.; chn. Theophilus, b. Dec. 31, 1693–4.

John Doane, m. Hannah Bangs, April 30, 1662; chn. John, b. March 20, 1662–3, d. May 15, 1663; John, b. May 29, 1664; Ann, b. July 25, 1666; Rebecka, b. May 12, 1668; Isaac, b. June 2, 1670; Samuel, b. March 2, 1673.

John Doane, m. Rebecca Pette, Jan. 14, 1684; he d. March 15, 1707–8.

Joseph Doane, m. Mary Godfrey, Jan. 8, 1690, she d. July 22, 1725; chn. Mary, b. Nov. 15, 1691; Joseph, b. Nov. 15, 1693; Rebecca, b. Sept. 4, 1698; Hannah, b. Nov. 17, 1700; Daniel, b. Jan. 8, 1702–3; Phebe, b. Oct. 29, 1704; Elisha, b. Feb. 3, 1705–6; Joshua, b. Dec. 4, 1709; Ledya, b. Feb. 9, 1714–15; Elisabeth, b. May 20, 1717; Sarah, b. Sept. 11, 1719. M. 2d wife Desire Berry, Feb. 29, 1727–8; dr. Desire, b. Dec. 9, 1728.

John Doane, Jr., m. Mehetable Scudder, June 30, 1686; chn. John, b. no date.

John Doane & Hannah; chn. Solomon, b. May 12, 1698;

Ephraim Doane, m. Mary Knowles, Feb. 5, 1667; chn. Patience, b.

Jan. 28, 1668, d. 1675; Appliah, b. July 18, 1670; Ezekiah, b. Aug. —, 1672; Thomas, b. Sept. 4, 1674; Ebenezer, b. April —, 1676; Nehemiah, b. Aug. —, 1680, d. Feb. 1684; Patience, b. April —, 1682; Reuhama, b. April 30, 1685.

Hezekiah Doane, m. Hannah; chn. Nehemiah, b. Dec. 17, 1692; Mary, b. Aug. 31, 1694; Ephraim, b. April 1, 1696.

Samuel Doane, m. Martha Hamblen, of Barnstable, Dec. 30, 1696; he d. Aug. 19, 1756; chn. Samuel, b. Oct. 30, 1697; Sarah, b. May 15, 1699; Dinah, b. Dec. 30, 1700; Dorcas, b. June 15, 1703; Solomon, b. Nov. 8, 1705; Simeon, b. Dec. 1, 1708.

Bennaiah Dunham, m. Elisabeth Tilson, Oct. 25, 1660; chn. Edman, b. July 25, 1661; John, b. Aug. 22, 1663, d. Sept. 6, 1663; Elisabeth, b. Nov. 20, 1664, d. Dec. 31, 1667; Hannah, b. June 4, 1666, d. Dec. 25, 1667; Beniamin, b. Oct. 28, 1667.

John Freeman, m. Sarah Merrick, Dec. 18, 1672; chn. John, b. Sept. 3, 1674; Sarah, b. Sept. —, 1676; John, b. July —, 1678; Rebecca, b. Jan. 28, 1680; Nathaniel, b. March 17, 1682–3; Benjamin, b. July —, 1685; Marcy, b. Aug. 3, 1687.

Thomas Freeman, m. Rebecca Sparrow, Dec. 31, 1673; chn. Mercy, b. Oct. —, 1674; Thomas, b. Oct. 11, 1676; Jonathan, b. Nov. 11, 1678; Edmond, b. Oct. 11, 1680; Joseph, b. Feb. 11, 1682; Joshua, b. March 7, 1684–5; Hannah, b. Sept. 28, 1687; Prence, b. Jan. 3, 1689; Hatsall, b. March 27, 1691.

Samuel Freeman, m. Mercy Southern, May 12, 1658; chn. Apphia, b. Dec. 11, 1657, d. Feb. 19, 1660; Samuel, b. March 26, 1662; Apphiah, b. Jan. 1, 1666; Constant, b. Mar. 31, 1669; Elisabeth, b. June 26, 1671.

Capt. Samuel Freeman, m. Elisabeth Sparrow, Feb. 5, 1684; he d. Jan. 30, 1742–3; chn. Priscila, b. Oct. 27, 1686; Samuel, b. Sept. 1, 1688. M. 2d wife Bashua; Elisabeth, b. April 19, 1694; Barnabas, b. Jan. 31, 1695–6; Nathaniel, b. May 7, 1698; David, b. Jan. 28, 1699–1700; Elisha, b. Dec. 9, 1701; James, b. Aug. 4, 1704; Enoch, b. May 19, 1706; Simeon, b. Feb. 23, 1707–8; John, b. Jan. 5, 1709–10; Abigail, b. July 10, 1713, d. July 16, 1714; Abigail, b. May 5, 1715.

Nathaniel Freeman, m. Mary, she d. Jan. 29, 1742–3; chn. Abigail, b. Feb. 22, 1692–3; Nathaniel, b. Feb. 11, 1693–4; John, b. June 15, 1696; Mary, b. Oct. 3, 1698; Eliezer, b. April 23, 1701; Liddiah, b. Oct. 14, 1703.

George Godfrie, m.; chn. George, b. Jan. 2, 1662; Samuel, b. Jan. 27, 1664; Moses, b. Jan. 27, 1667; Hannah, b. April 25, 1669; Mary, b. June 2, 1672; Ruth, b. Jan. 1, 1675; Richard, b. June 11, 1677; Jonathan, b. June 24, 1682; Elisabeth, b. Sept. 10, 1688.

Edward Gray, m.; chn. Bennonie, b. March —, 1681.

Richard Higgins, m. Mary Yates, Oct. 1651; chn. Mary, b. Sept. 27, 1652; Eliakim, b. Oct. 20, 1654; Judiah, b. March —, 1656–7; Zera, b. June —, 1658; Thomas, b. Jan. —, 1661; Lidia, b. July —, 1664. By 1st wife; Jonathan, b. New Plymouth, July —, 1637; Benjamin, b. N. Plymouth, June —, 1640.

Richard Higgins, m. Sarah; chn. Joshua, b. Dec. 3, 1695; Elezer, b. Feb. 9, 1696–7; Theophilas, b. May 6, 1698; Jediah, b. Feb. 8, 1699–1700; Zacheus, b. Jan. 11, 1701–2, d. Aug. 22, 1715; Esther, b. Feb. 23, 1703–4; David, b. April 5, 1706; Reuben, b. Jan. 6, 1708–9; Moses, b. March 24, 1710–11; Abigail, b. Aug. 8, 1715.

Ichabod Higgins, m. Melatiah; he d. June 1, 1728; chn. John, b. June 8, 1692; Nathaniel, b. June 1, 1694; Thankful, b. Aug. 24, 1696; Liddia, b. April 13, 1698; Ebenezer, b. April 15, 1701.

Jonathan Higgins, m. Elisabeth Rogers, Jan. 9, 1660; chn. Beriah, b. Sept. 27, 1661; Jonathan, b. Aug. —, 1664; Joseph, b. Feb. 14, 1666; Elisabeth, b. Feb. 11, 1680; Mary, b. Jan. 22, 1682; Rebecca, b. Nov. 30, 1686; James, b. July 22, 1688; Sarah, b. Oct. 18, 1690.

Benjamin Higgins, m. Lidia Bangs, Dec. 24, 1661; chn. Ichabod, b. Nov. 14, 1662; Richard, b. Oct. 15, 1664; John, b. Nov. 20, 1666; Joshua, b. Oct. 1, 1668; Lidia, b. May —, 1670; Isaac, b. Aug. 31, 1672; Benjamin, b. June 14, 1674; Samuel, b. March 7, 1676–7; Benjamin, b. Sept. 15, 1681.

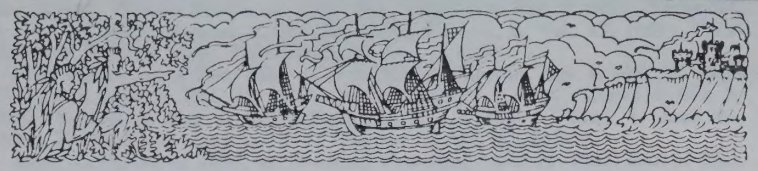
Isaac Higgins, m. Liddiah; chn. Mercy, b. March 20, 1697; Sarah, b. Aug. 3, 1699; Beniamine, b. April 19, 1701; Elkenah, b. Nov. 10, 1703; Rebecca, b. Oct. 10, 1705; Isaac, b. July 3, 1708; Hannah, b. Sept. 11, 1712; Lidia, b. July 3, 1718.

Joseph Harding, m. Bethia Cook, April 4, 1660; chn. Martha, b. Dec. 13, 1662; Mary, b. Aug. 19, 1665; Joseph, b. July 8, 1667; Josiah, b. Aug. 15, 1669; Maziah, b. Nov. 1, 1671; John, b. Oct. 9, 1673, d. June 14, 1697; Nathaniel, b. Dec. 25, 1674; Joshua, b. Feb. 15, 1675; Abiah, b. Jan. 26, 1679; Samuel, b. Sept. 1, 1685.

Mazeiah Harding, m. Hannah; chn. Hannah, b. Feb. 15, 1694; Thomas, b. Nov. 13, 1699; James, b. Nov. 2, 1702; Mary, b. April 2, 1706; Elisabeth, b. April —, 1708; Phebe, b. April —, 1710; Nathan, b. Oct. 29, 1711; Cornelias, b. March 31, 1716–17.

Josiah Harding, m. Hannah; chn. Martha, b. Dec. 23, 1693; Elisabeth, b. Jan. 3, 1695–6; Joshua, b. Oct. 27, 1698; Bethia, b. April 9, 1701; Josiah, b. March 7, 1703–4; Mary, b. Sept. 15, 1707; Jesse, b. March 26, 1709; Ebenezer, b. July 20, 1712; Bethia, b. May 12, 1716.

[*To be continued.*]



THE FIRST SETTLERS OF EASTHAM, MASS.

By David Hamblen, Member of the N. E. Historic-Genealogical Society.

Henry Atkins, —— children, Mary, b. March 13, 1647, d. June 15, 1649.

Mrs. Ann Atwood, d. June 1, probably, 1655.

Edward Bangs, m. Rebeckah——; chn. Bethiah, b. May 28, 1650; Marcy and Apphia, (twins) b. Oct. 15, 1651; Jonathan, Joshua, John, Rebeckah.

Francis Baker, m. ——; chn. Samuel, b. May 1, 1648; Daniel, b. Sept. 2, 1650. Both of the above b. at Yarmouth.

William Brown, m. Mary Murdock, July 16, 1649; chn. Mary Brown, b. May 14, 1650; George, b. Jany. 16, 1651, at Plymouth; William, b. April 1, 1654, at Plymouth; Samuel, b. March —, 1655-6; John, James Mercy. Wm. Brown d. about 1694.

Daniel Cole, m. Ruthy ——; chn. Thomas Cole, b. ———; Hester.

Job Cole, m. ———; chn. Rebeckah, b. Aug. 26, 1654.

Josias or Josiah Cook, m. Elisabeth; he d. about 1687; chn. Josiah b. —; Bethiah, m. Joseph Harding.

Dea. John Doane, b. about 1590, d. Feb. 21, 1685-6; m. Abigail; chn. Abigail, b. ———; John, Daniel, Ephraim. A daughter m. Samuel Hicks.

Daniel Doane, m. Hepsibeth Cole; chn. Constant (son), b. March 7, 1669-70.

John Freeman, m. Mary Prence, dau. of Gov. Prence, Feb. 13, 1649; chn. John, b. Feb. 2, 1650, d. young; John, b. Dec. —, 1651; Thomas, b. Sep. —, 1653; Edmond, b. June —, 1657; Marcy, b. July —, 1659; Prence, b. Feb. 3, 1665, Nathaniel, b. March 20, 1669.

William Freeman m. Lydia ——, about 1686.

Richard Higgins, m. Mary Yates; chn. William, b. Dec. 15, 1654, probably 1655. Benjamin Higgins d. March 14, 1690-1, aged 51.

Giles Hopkins, son of Stephen, the Pilgrim, m. Catorne Whelden, Oct. —, 1639; chn. Mary, b. ——, 1640; Stephen, b. Sep. —, 1642; John, b.——, 1643, d. 1643; Abigail, b. Oct. —, 1644; Deborah, b. June —, 1648; Caleb, b. Jan. —, 1650; Ruth, b. June —, 1653; Joshua, b. June, 1657; William, b. Jan. 9, 1660; Elisabeth, b. Nov. —, 1664. d. 1664. Giles Hopkins d. about 1690.

Joshua Hopkins, son of Giles, m. Mary Cole, dau. of Daniel, May 26, 1681; chn. John, b. April 16, 1683-4, d. June 24, 1700; Abigail, b. March 9, 1685-6; Elisha, b. Dec. 17, 1688; Lidia, b. April 1, 1692; Mary, b. Jan. 20, 1694-5; Joshua, b. Feb 20, 1697-8; Hannah, b. March 25, 1700; Phebe, b. March 11, 1702.

Stephen Hopkins, son of Giles, m. Mary Merrich, dau. of William, May 23, 1667; chn. Elisabeth Hopkins, b. June —, 1668; Stephen, b. July 15, 1670; Ruth, b. Nov. —, 1674; Judah, b. Jan. —, 1677; Samuel, b. March —, 1682; Nathaniel, b. —, 1684: Joseph, b. ———, 1688; Benjamin, b. Feb. —, 1690; Mary, b. April 15, 1692.

Stephen Hopkins, Jr., m. Sarah Howes, May 19, 1692; chn. Jonathan, b. Aug. 20, 1693.

Daniel Hamilton, m. Mary ——, chn. Grace, b. Aug. 3, 1694, d. Aug 20. Thomas, b. Sept. 1, 1695.

John Heard, m. ———; chn. John, b. Jan. 17, 1688; Grace, b. Jan. 11, 1692; Jacob, b. April 12, 1695.

Samuel Hedge, m. Grace Snow, Dec. 8, 1698; chn. Thankful, b. Aug. 29, 1699; Mary, b. Nov. 20, 1701, d. May 17, 1714; Lamuel, b. Jan. 10, 1703-4; Elisha, b. Feb. 4, 1705-6; Elizabeth, b April 14, 1708; Lamuel, b March 4, 1709-10; Jabez, b. April 13, 1712; Thankful, b. April 17, 1714; Samuel, Sen., d. May 19, 1714.

Elisha Hamblen, of Harwich, m. Elizabeth Mayo, dau. of Samuel, Jan. 25, 1721-2; chn. Elijah, b. March 22, 1722-3.

Eliezer Hamblen, m. Sarah, ———; chn. Barnabas, b. March 30, 1719; Sarah, b. March 10, 1720-21, Eliezer, b. May 24, 1723.

Benjamin Hamblen, m. Anne Mayo, dau. of Samuel, and great-granddaughter of Rev. John Mayo, Oct. 25, 1716; chn. Cornelius, b. ———, 1719, d. Nov. 8, 1791, m. Jane Young, June 23, 1748; Benja. b. ——, m. Lydia Young, Mar. 24; 1747-8; Joshua, b. ———; Elizaer, b. ———; Lydia, b. ———, m. John Wilcutt, of Hingham, Aug. 30, 1743. Copied from the Boston News Letter, dated Aug. 25, 1737. "We hear that sometime in the begining of July, that Captain Atherton Hough, master of a whaling vessel, being in the streights, killed a large whale and brought her to the Vessel's side as usual to cut her up, and as the hands were hoisting the Blubber into the hold, the runner of the block gave away, and fell with great force on the head of a man that stood underneath, viz. Benjamin Hamblen, of Eastham, Mass., and instantly Killed him."

An inventory of his estate as apprised by
Amount to £975 5 3
Eastham July 5 1738

Jonathan Young,
Jeremiah Mayo,
Solomon Sweet.

Samuel Hicks, m. ———, dau. of John Doane; chn. Dorcas, b. Feb. 14, 1651; Margaret, b. March 9, 1654.

Richard Knowles, m. ———; chn. Samuel, b. at Plymouth, Sept. 17, 1651; Mehitable, b. at Eastham, May 20, 1652; Mehitable, b. at Eastham, May 20, 1653; Barbary, b. at Eastham, Sept. 28, 1656.

John Knowles, probably son of Richard, m. Apphiah Bangs, dau. of Edward, Dec. 28, 1670; chn. Edward, b. Nov. 7, 1671; John, b. July 10, 1673; Deborah, b. March 2, 1674-5.

Samuel Knowles, m. Mercy Freeman, granddaughter of Gov. Prence, Dec, — 1679; chn. James, b. Aug. 13, 1680; Mercy, b. Sept 13, 1681; Samuel, b. Jan. 15, 1682; Nathaniel, b. May 15, 1686; Richard, b. July —, 1688; Rebeckah, b. March —, 1690; John, b. April —, 1692; Ruth, b. Nov. —, 1694; Cornelius, b. Oct. —, 1695; Amos, b. ———, 1702.

John Knowles, m. Mary; chn. Joshua, b. July 6, 1696; John, b. June 28, 1698; Seth, b. Aug. 7, 1700; Paul, b. Aug. 8, 1702; James, b. Nov. 4. 1704; Jesse, b. April 1, 1707; Mary, b. Oct —, 1709.

John King, m. Rachel Nickerson, of Harwich, July 6, 1737.

Jonathan Linnell, m. Elisabeth; chn. David, b. Jan. 28, 1693-4; Elisabeth, b. April 17, 1696, d. May 17, 1714; Abigail, b. July 1, 1699; Jonathan, b. Aug. 4, 1701; Thomas, b. Oct. 12, 1703; Elisha, b. Feb. 15, 1706-7. Mr. Jonathan Linnell, son of David Linnell, of Barnstable, d. July 27, 1725.

Thomas Lewis, probably from Barnstable, m. Jane ——; chn. George, b. May 6, 1691; Nathaniel, b. March 31, 1696; Rebecca, b. March 17, 1697-8; Benjamin, b. Oct. 8, 1700; Sarah, b. June 2, 1702; Apphia, b. May 9, 1704. Thomas Lewis d. March 19, 1717-18.

Rev. John Mayo, emigrated to Barnstable in 1639; was teacher there till 1644; then removed to Eastham, and was Pastor there till 1655; then was pastor of the second church in Boston, till 1673, when he was discharged on account of old age. He died in Yarmouth, 1676. m. Thomason ——: chn. Samuel, m. Thamisine ——, d. ———; 1663: Hannah, m. Nathaniel Bacon, of Barnstable, 1642; Nathaniel, m. Hannah Prence, 1650, d. 1662; John, m. Hannah Lecraft, 1651, d. about 1706; Elisabeth, m. Joseph Homes, of Yarmouth, 1701. All born before the emigration of their father.

Samuel Mayo son of the above, m. Thomisine ——, d. 1663; chn. Mary, b.

——, 1645; Samuel, b. ——, 1647; Hannah, b. ——, 1650; Elizabeth, b. ——, 1653; Nathaniel, b. April 1, 1658; Sarah, b. —— 19, 1660. The two last resided in Boston, and the former in Barnstable.

Nathaniel Mayo, son of Rev. John ——, m. Hannah Prence, Feb. 13, 1650, dau. of Gov. Thomas Prence; d. 1662; chn. Thomas, b. Dec. 7, 1650; Nathaniel, b. Nov. 16. 1652; Samuel, b. Oct. 12, 1655; Hannah, b. Oct. 17, 1657; Theophilus, b. Dec. 17, 1659; Bathshebah, b. ———, 1662.

John Mayo, son of Rev. John ——, m. Hannah Lecraft, Jan. 1, 1651, d. about 1705; chn. John, b. Dec. 15, 1652; William, b. Oct. 7, 1654; James, b. Oct. 3, 1656; Samuel, b. Aug. 2, 1658; Elisha, b. Nov. 7, 1661; Daniel, b. June 24, 1664; Nathaniel, b. April 2, 1667; Thomas, b. July 15, 1672.

John Mayo, son of John, m. Hannah Freeman, April 14, 1681, dau. of Maj. John Freeman, of Eastham, d. 1726; chn. Hannah, b. Jan. 8, 1682; John, b. ———; Samuel, b. July 16, 1684; Mercy, b. April 23, 1688; Rebecca, b. ———; Mary, b. Oct. 26, 1694; Joseph, b. Dec. 22, 1696; Elizabeth, b. ——, 1706;

James Mayo, son of John, m. 1st ———, 2d Sarah ——, 1702, d. 1708; chn. Gamaliel, b. ———; Joseph, b. ———; James, b. ———; Jonathan (?) ———; Sarah, b. Jan. 14, 1703; Henry, b. May 3, 1705; John. b. Oct. 11, 1707.

Samuel Mayo, son of John, m. ———, died before 1732; chn. Anne, b. ———; Martha, b. ———; Elizabeth, b. ———; Content, b. ———. All born not far from 1700.

Daniel Mayo, son of John, m. ———; d. about 1715; chn. Bethiah, b. ———; Sarah, b. ———; Elizabeth, b. ———; Daniel, b. ———; Jeremiah, b. ——, 1700; Margary, b. ———; Mary, b. ———;

Nathaniel Mayo, son of John, m. 1st ———, m. 2d Mary Brown, 1703, d. 1716; chn. Rebecca, b. April —, 1697; William, b. Aug. —, 1699; Robert, b. June —, 1701; Mary, b. ——, 1704; Mehitable, b. ——, 1705; Anne, b. ——, 1707; Priscilla, b. ——, 1708, Phebe, b. ——, 1709; Lydia, b. ———; Hannah, b. ———;

Thomas Mayo, son of John, m. ———; chn. Mary, b. ———; Mercy (?) b. ———; Hannah (?) b. ———; Noah (?) b. ———.

William Mayo, son of John, m. ———, died 1691; chn. Thankful, (?) b. ———; Mercy, (?) b. ———.

Thomas Mayo, son of Nathaniel, m. Barbary Knowles, June 13, 1677, d. April 22, 1729; chn. Thomas, b. April 3, 1678; Theophilus, b. Oct. 31, 1680; Mary, b. Aug., 1683; Maria, b. Jan. 19, 1685; Ruth, b. Jan. —, 1688; Judah, b. Nov. 25, 1691; Lydia, b. June 12, 1694; Richard, b. Jan. 13, 1696; and Isreal, b. Aug. 12, 1700.

Nathaniel Mayo, son of Nathaniel, m. 1st Elizabeth Wixam, June 28, 1678, dau. of Robert Wixam, m 2d Mercy Young, June 10, 1708, widow of Nathaniel. He died Nov. 30, 1709; chn. Nathaniel, b. July —, 1681; Bathshuah, b. Sep. 23, 1683; Alice, b. April 29, 1686; Ebenezer, b. July 13, 1689; Hannah, b. Jan. —, 1692; Elisha, b. April 28, 1695; and Robert, b. March 20, 1698.

Samuel Mayo, son of Nathaniel, m. ———. He died Oct. 29, 1738, aged 83 years. Chn. Samuel, b. , ——, 1690; Jonathan, b. ———; Rebecca, b. ———; Mercy, b. ———.

Ensign William Merrick, b. 1600, d. about 1688; m. Rebecca. Children: William, b. Sept. 15, 1643; Steven, b. May 12, 1646; Rebecca, b. July 28, 1648; Mary, b. Nov. 4, 1650; Ruth, b. May 15, 1652, Sara, b. Aug. 1, 1654; John, b. Jan. 15, 1656; Isaac, b. Jan. 6, 1660; Joseph, b. June 1, 1662; Benjamin, b. Feb. 1, 1664.

William, m. Abigail Hopkins, dau. of Giles, May 23, 1667. Children:—Rebecca, b. Nov. 28. 1668; William, b. Aug. 1, 1670, d. March 20, 1670–71.

Joseph, d. June 15, 1737, m. Elisabeth Howes, May 1, 1684. Ch. Elizabeth, b. Jan. 1, 1685; Mary, b. July 7, 1687; Joseph, b. March 8, 1689–90; William, b. Jan. 26, 1692–3; Isaac, b. Aug. 12, 1699.

Joseph Merrick, senr. d. June 15, 1737.

Stephen, m. Mercy Bangs, dau. of Edward, Dec. 28, 1670. Ch. Stephen, b. March 26, 1673.

James Maker m. Mercy Smith Feb. 15, 1703–4.

David Melvile m. Mary. Chd. Mary Melvile, b. July 31, 1699; Thomas,

b. July 25, 1697; Abigail and Elizabeth (twins,) b. May 28, 1702; David, b. Oct. 17, 1704.

Thomas Mulford m. Hannah. Chd.: John, b. July, 1670; Patience, b. Aug. 17, 1674; Anna, b. March 23, 1676–7.

Hannah, widow of Thomas, d. Feb. 10, 1717–18.

Thomas Mulford, Jr. m. Mary Bassett, Oct. 28, 1690. Chd. Anna, b. July 28, 1691; Dorcas, b. March 6, 1692–3; Mary, b. June 26, 1695; Hannah, b. Sept. 1, 1698; Elisabeth, b. June 30, 1701; Thomas, b. Oct. 20, 1703; Jemima, b. Oct. 13, 1706.

John Mulford m. Jemima Higgin Nov. 1, 1699.

William Nickerson (probably from Yarmouth) m. Mary Snow Jan. 22, 1690. Chd. Mercy, b. March 17, 1691–2; Nicholas, b. March 19, 1693–4.

Thomas Newcomb m. Elizabeth Cooke, dau. of Josiah, Oct. —, 1693. Chd. Edward, b. Aug. 3, 1695; Thomas, b. Aug. 13. 1697; Simon, b. Nov. 30, 1699.

William Norket m. Ruth Mayo March 5, 1718–19. Chd. William, b. Dec. 28, 1719—Ruth (wife) d. Jan. 14, 1719–20.

m. 2d, Priscilla Paine, Aug. 4, 1726.

Ruth, b. June 15, 1728; Josiah, b. Jan. 25, 1730–1; Hannah, b. June 20, 1733; Experience, b. Sept. 1, 1735; Abner, b. March 25, 1738; Prissilla, b. Jan. 14, 1739–40.

Thomas Paine, m. ———; chd. Elezer, b. March 10, 1658, and probably had the following:—Thomas, Joseph, Nicholas, Samuel, Elisha, John, Mary.

Thomas Paine, Jr. m. Hannah Shaw Aug. 5, 1678. Chd. Hannah, b. April 6, 1679, d. Nov. 17, 1681; Hugh, b. July 5, 1680, d. Nov. 29, 1681; Thomas, b. Feb. 28, 1681–2; Hannah, b. May 12, 1684; Jonathan, b. Feb. 1, 1685–6; Abigail, b. March 4, 1687–8, d. Jan. 21, 1688–9; Abigail, b. Nov 10, 1689; Phebe, b. March 14, 1690–1, d. Jan. 21, 1695–6; Elkenah, b. Feb. 1, 1692–3; Moses, b. Sep. 28, 1695; Joshua, b. Aug. 28, 1697; Phebe, b. Feb. 11, 1698–9; Lidia, b. Dec. 4, 1700; Barnabas, b. Nov. 13, 1705.

Joseph Paine, m. Patience Sparrow, May 27, 1691, d. Oct. 1, 1712; chn. Ebenezer, b April 8, 1692; Hannah, b. July 5, 1694; Joseph, b. March 29, 1697; Richard, b. March 25, 1699.

Nicholas Paine, m. Hannah ——, she d. Jan. 24, 1731–2; chn. Thankful, b. March 14, 1699–1700; Priscilla, b. Oct. 16, 1701; Phillip, b. Nov. 18, 1704; Lois, d. Sep. 29, 1725; Abigail, b. Aug. 3, 1707; Hannah, b. Sep. 24 1709.

Samuel Paine, m. Patience Freeman. Jan. 31, 1682, d. Oct. 13, 1712; chn. Samuel b. Oct. 30, 1683, d. Oct. 5, 1706; Mercy, b. Aug. 5, 1686; Nathaniel, b. July 9, 1689, d. March 14, 1706–7; Ebenezer, b. June 17, 1692; Elisabeth, b. June 11, 1694; Joshua, b. May 20, 1696; Isaac, b. Jan. 3, 1698–9; Mary, b. Feb. 24, 1703–4; Seth, b. Oct. 5, 1706, d. March 23, 1722–3.

Elisha Paine, m. Rebecca Doane, Jan. 20, 1685; chn. Abigail, b. Jan. 5, 1686; Elisha, b. Dec. 29, 1693; Mary, b. Feb. 1, 1695–6; Solomon, b. May 16, 1698; Dorcas, b. Feb. 24, 1699–1700.

John Paine, m. Bennet ——, d. May 30, 1716; chn. John, b. Sep. 18, 1690; Mary, b. Jan. 28, 1692–3; William, b. June 6, 1695; Benjamin, b. Feb. 22, 1696–7, d. Dec. 15, 1713; Sarah, b. April 14, 1699; Elisabeth, b. June 2, 1702; Theophilus, b. Feb. 7. 1703–4; Josiah, b. March 8, 1705–6, d. May 7, 1728; Nathaniel, b. Nov. 18, 1707, d. Nov. 4, 1728; Rebecca, b. Oct. 30, 1709; Mercy, b. April 3, 1712; Benjamin, b. May 18, 1714, d. Jan. 14, 1716–17; m. 2d, Alice Mayo, March 3, 1719–20; Hannah, b. Jan. 11, 1720–21, d. Jan. 28, 1723–4; James, b. Dec. 17, 1723, d. Feb. 23, 1723–4; Thomas, b. April 6, 1725; Alice, b. Dec. 4, 1728. Mr. Paine d. Oct. 18, 1731.

Isaac Pepper, m. Apphia Freeman, Oct. 7, 1685; chn. Apphia, b. Feb. 24. 1687; Mary, b. Aug. 7, 1690; Isaac, b. July 29, 1693; Robert, b. Feb 15, 1695–6; Elisabeth, b. July 11, 1698; Joseph, b. Nov. 1, 1700, d. May 1, 1703; Solomon, b. Jan. 15, 1703; Joseph, b. Feb. 24, 1704–5.

On page 41, for Renhard Knowles, read Richard Knowles.

[To be continued.]

THE FIRST SETTLERS OF EASTHAM, MASS.

By David Hamblen, Member of the N. E. Historic-Genealogical Society.

Isaac Pierce, m. Jane Young, Mch 9, 1709–10.

Thomas Prence, Esq., Governer of the Juridiction of New Plymouth, died March 29, 1673, and was interid the 8th April following, after he had served God in the office of Gov. sixteen years or near thereunto; he finished his course in the 73 year of his life; he was a worthy gentleman, very pious and very able for his office, and faithful in the discharge thereof, studious of peace, a welwiller to all that feared God, and a terror to the wicked; his death was much lamented, and his body honourably buryed at Plymouth, the day and year above mentioned.—[*Plymouth Colony Records.*

Gov. Thomas Prence came over in the 2d ship, the Fortune, 1621, lived in Plymouth, in his house in High street near Spring Lane; m. Patience, dau. of William Brewster, 1624, the 9th marriage in the Colony; she died 1634; he was chosen Governor 1635, then living in Duxbury; m. Mary, dau. of Wm. Collier, 1635, and removed to Eastham, 1644, and there resided till chosen Governor in 1658. His wife died at Eastham and he returned to Plymouth, 1663, and lived at Plain Dealings; m. Mrs. Mary, widow of Samuel Freeman, 1662, and died 1673, his wife surviving, at Yarmouth.

His children were as follows. Thomas went to England, where he mar. and died young, leaving a widow and dau. named Susannah. Rebecca m. Edmund Freeman, Jr., Sandwich, 1646; Mary m. John Leacy of Duxbury; Elizabeth m. Arthur Howland, Jr., of Marshfield; Judith m. Isaac Barker of Duxbury, Dec. 28, 1665; Hannah m. 1st, Nathaniel Mayo, Eastham, Feb. 13, 1649. 2d, Jonathan Sparrow; Jane, born

Nov. 1, 1637, m. Mark Snow, Eastham, Jan. 9, 1660; Sarah m. Jeremiah Howel of Yarmouth, 1650; Mercy m. John Freeman, Eastham, Feb. 13, 1649. *See Davis's N. E. Memorial, Mitchell's Hist. Bridgewater, and Winsor's History Duxbury.*

Richard Rich, son of Richard, m. Anne ——, children, Sarah, b. Jan. 22, 1695–6; Richard, b. Feb. 28, 1698–9; Rebeckah, b. June 15, 1701; Zacheus, b. Apl. 2, 1704; Obadiah, b. July 15, 1707; Priscilla, b. Feb. 5, 1709–10, d. July, 1716; Huldah, b. July —, 1712; Joseph, b. Oct. 5, 1715; Silvanus, b. Sept. 4, 1720. Richard Rich, Sen., removed here from Dover, N. H., and admitted Townsman Aug. 23, 1681, d. about 1692; he was a mariner.

James Rogers, son of Joseph, m. Mary Paine, Jan. 11, 1670; chn, James, b. Oct. 30, 1673; Mary, b. Nov. 9, 1675; Abigail, b. Mch. 2. 1677–8. Mr. Rogers, d. Apl. 13, 1678.

James Rogers, m. Susannah Treasey, Feb. 17, 1697–8; chn. Mary, b. Nov. 20, 1698; Isaac, b. Dec. 8, 1701; Susannah, b. Jan. 19, 1703–4; James, b. May 2, 1706; Abigail, b. Aug. 3, 1708; Thomas, b. Oct. 21, 1710. Mr. James Rogers d. Sept. 8, 1751.

Thomas Rogers, son of Joseph, m. Elizabeth Snow, Dec. 13, 1665; chn. Elizabeth, b. Oct. 8, 1666; Joseph, b. Feb. 1, 1667; Hannah, b. Mch. 20, 1669; Thomas, b. Mch. 6, 1670–71, d. March 15, 1670–71; Thomas, b. May 6, 1672; Eliazer, b. Nov. 3, 1673; Nathaniel, b. Jan. 18, 1675. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Rogers, d. June 16, 1678.

Joseph Rogers, m. ——— ———; chn. Sarah, b. Nov. 20, 1691; Elizabeth, b. Sept. 20, 1693.

John Rogers, son of Joseph, m. Elizabeth Twining, Aug. 19, 1669; chn. Samuel, b. Nov. 1, 1671, d. Dec. 3, 1671; John, b. Nov. 4, 1672; Judah, b. Nov. 23, 1677; Joseph, b. Feb. 22, 1679; Elizabeth, b. Oct. 23, 1682; Eliazer, b. May 19, 1685; Mehitable, b. Mch. 13, 1686–7; Hanpah, b. Aug. 5, 1689; Nathaniel, b. Oct. 3, 1693. Elizabeth, wid. of John Rogers, d. Mch. 10, 1724–5.

Joseph Rogers, son of Joseph, m. Susannah Doane, Feb. 4, 1660. Joseph Rogers d. Jan. 27, 1660–1.

Abraham Remick, m. Elizabeth ———; chn. Christian, b. Dec. 16, 1694; Abraham, b. May 20, 1696; Marcy, b. July 29, 1698; Elizabeth, b. Sept. 12, 1700.

Seth Rider, m. Deborah Atwood, Jan. 6, 1725–6; chn. Deborah, b. Aug. 6, 1727; Mary, b. Aug. 6, 1735.

(No Mary listed) mz

Nicholas Snow, d. Nov. 15, 1676, m. Constance Hopkins, dau. of Stephen; ch. Mark, b. May 9, 1628.

Mark Snow, d. about 1695, m. Ann Cook, dau. of Josiah Cook, Jan. 18, 1654; chn. Anna Snow, b. July 7, 1656. Mrs. Ann Snow d. July 25, 1656. m. 2d wife Jane Prince, Jan. 9, 1660; chn. Mary, b. Nov. 30, 1661; Nicholas, b. Dec. 6, 1663; Elizabeth, b. May 9, 1666, d. Jan. 18, 1675; Thomas, b. Aug. 6, 1668; Sarah, b. May 10, 1671; Prence, b. May 22, 1674; Elizabeth, b. June 22, 1676, d. Mch. 22, 1677–8; Hannah, b. Sept. 16, 1779.

Lieut. Jabize Snow, d. Dec. 27, 1690, m. Elizabeth ———; chn. Jabez, b. Sept. 6, 1670; Edward, b. Mch. 26, 1672; Sarah, b. Feb. 26, 1673; Grace, b. Feb. 1, 1675; Thomas, b. ——, —, d. Apl. 2, 1697.

Xerox copy of list given to Grunow family to take on trip - 1991 (1)
(so I won't forget what I reported then)

Mayflower Ancestors *

My grandmother's (maternal) grandmother side

1-2-3 Richard + Elizabeth Warren and their dau. Elizabeth

4-5-6 John + Elizabeth Tilley + their dau Elizabeth (born 1608)

7 John Howland (born 1592) age 28 who worked for Gov. Carver
He + Elizabeth Tilley married later (She was only 12 in 1620.)

8-9-10 Isaac + Mary (Norris) Allerton + their dau Mary 4 year old b. in Holland 1616

All of the above are ancestors of Lydia (Pearce) who married a Dodge. They are not Dodge ancestors. Lydia was from Rhode Island — not all that far from Plymouth.

Thus, we have ten ancestors we know for sure, who came on the Mayflower. That does not include William and Susanna (Fuller) White who brought along 6-year old Resolved White + whose baby, Peregrine, was born on the Mayflower as she lay in Cape Cod harbor before they landed in Plymouth — the first white child born in New England. We think this little family might be ours. (My grandpa was named William W. White but was called "Wes" by neighbors + "Will" by his brothers + sisters.)

through my grandpa White's father's side - White

There is same evidence but no proof these Whites are ours.

[There is a slight chance we maybe descended from Elder William Brewster + his wife, Mary (Wentworth) Brewster, through an older daughter Elizabeth who married an Emerson - Averill ancestor but I don't put much faith in it, though some genealogists claim it is true + others aren't so sure. (Elizabeth Brewster was mother of Rev. John Emerson, Puritan minister who was so worried about the "witches" in Salem + elsewhere.)

through my grandpa White's mother - Averill

Of all the people who came on the Mayflower, half died that first winter.

(next page)

* the 10 people listed at top are only our direct ancestors. (Some of these families also had other children, who are not our ancestors)

among those who died that first winter were John Tilley's wife (1) Elizabeth,* mother of 12 year old Elizabeth and (2) Mary (Norris) Allerton, mother of 4 year old Mary. Also, William White (3) the father of Baby Peregrine, died that first winter in Feb or March. Mrs. Edward Winslow's wife died then, too, and widow Susanna White & widower Edward Winslow, Jr., married May 12, 1621. (Her brother, Samuel Fuller & wife also were on the Mayflower.) She needed to marry quickly for protection! Edward Winslow was a brilliant & well educated man and later became governor of Plymouth colony - by then there were many settlers. He was a good father to the children. William White had been a well educated man. He brought over a Bible printed partly 1568, partly 1588 which passed on to Wm Brewster upon his death & contains notations by other pilgrims. The Bible is now in a museum at Hartford Ct.

An ancestor of ours who started out on the Mayflower (Speedwell/or) but had to stay behind (because the Speedwell leaked and for other reasons) on the Pilgrims' behalf was Robert Cushman. He was one of the organizers & financial managers. He and his wife Sarah Ryder (Reeder) Cushman & their son (Elder) Thomas Cushman, came in 1621 on the Fortune, the next ship in the spring.

The son, Thomas Cushman, married Mary Allerton. Mary Allerton's father, our ancestor Isaac Allerton, was a fascinating man. He had to be the one to arrange with the people in Holland to repay Dutch investors for the cost of the voyage for the Pilgrims - they came on credit, partly. Isaac was called a tailor in London but was primarily a merchant & trader, and of great service to the Pilgrims & his wheeling & dealing eventually ended their poverty & saved their lives, however

(cont'd)

* John Tilley's wife was first thought to be Elizabeth Leggett, proved to be a different lady who stayed in England. Then they came up with the name Elizabeth Cornings (modern name Cummings?) though he may also have married a Joan Hurst. Presumably this last Elizabeth was our Elizabeth's mother.

Re: Allerton Family

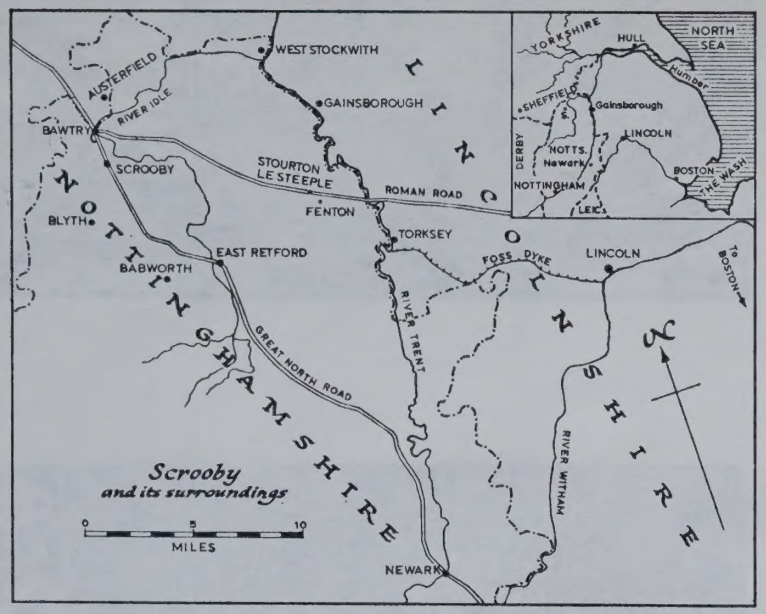
some of Allerton's elaborate deals succeeded quite well, and others were total flops. About 1626 Isaac married Fear Brewster, daughter of Elder Wm Brewster and they had one child, Isaac Jr. However, about 1631, under a cloud, he had to resign as financial agent for the Pilgrims. (He had to renegotiate their loan which resulted in larger payments than they wanted.) So he left the colony & settled in New Haven but continued to pay taxes in Plymouth until 1634 when Fear died, she and the children having stayed behind. A grown son was in England. The girls (including Mary, our ancestor) stayed in Massachusetts but he must have taken little Isaac with him, when Fear died. By 1644 there was a third wife, Joanna, but probably no more children — though New Haven did not keep good records as New England had.

New Haven was not yet part of Connecticut, but was a Dutch colony. Allerton continued wheeling and dealing as a merchant, etc., especially with Dutch Manhattan, Delaware, the West Indies and Virginia. Though many deals went sour or ships lost, etc., he did well on the whole and died a rich man in New Haven. His son, Isaac, Jr, grew up and graduated from Harvard lived in Virginia, among the aristocracy — the Lees, Ludwells, Corbins etc., where he ~~had~~ raised a large, influential family & was appointed to various posts by King James II of England.

If you run across any Allerton genealogy it will probably be about the Virginia people, since only girls were left in Plymouth.

ELEVEN

Their Native Soil



James I came to London in May 1603. His big head, rickety legs, complete lack of personal dignity and a thick lazy tongue mouthing the coarsest speech gave Londoners a shock. The Puritans got their shock at Hampton Court in answer to a Petition they had presented as soon as James crossed the Border. James was, in the words of the French King, 'the wisest fool in Christendom' and particularly he was a heavy pedant with a great taste for theological dispute. The Puritans overlooked the fact that James had had a bellyful of Presbyterian obstruction in Scotland. He accused the Puritans of trying to establish a presbytery 'where Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure

me and my Council and all their proceedings'. (New to England he does not seem to have realised that Parliament might do just that.) He ended with a threat to the Puritans which flattened all their hopes of Church reform. 'I will make them conform or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse.'

Some conciliatory noises were made to the Catholics and the recusancy fines were remitted but the number of recusants grew so rapidly in the North that all of the Elizabethan restrictions and penalties were reimposed; sick and disappointed some desperate Catholics including Guy Fawkes hatched the Gunpowder Plot which, discovered in 1605, did their cause no good, nor anyone else except the modern fireworks manufacturers.

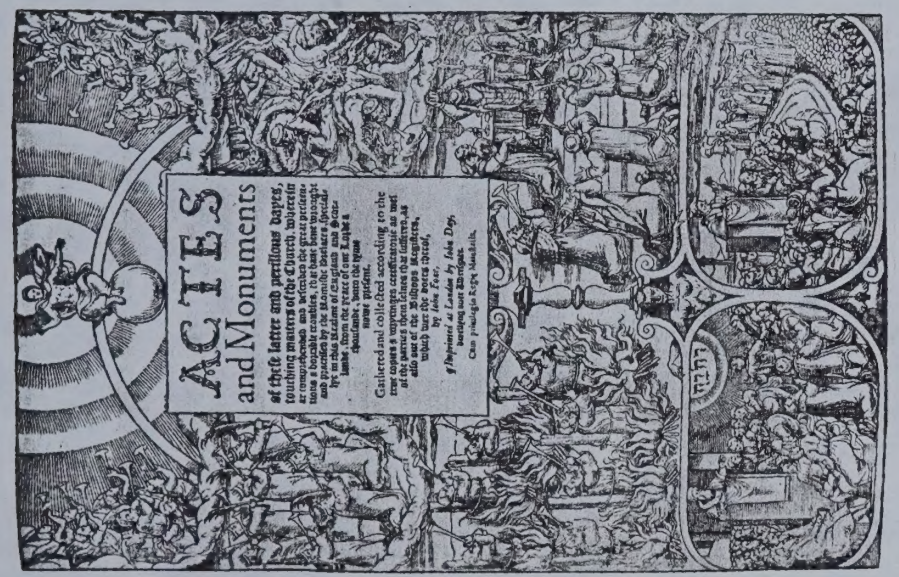
And at the same time, away from all these stirring affairs, heeding not at all the dire threats of James, a few friends went on with their private prayers meetings at Gainsborough in Lincolnshire, and Babworth and Scrooby in Nottinghamshire. In William Bradford's words:

> 'Whenas by the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers, and God's blessings on their labours, as in other places in the land, so in the North parts many became enlightened by the word of God and had their ignorance and sins discovered unto them, and began by His grace to reform their lives and make conscience of their ways.'

The godly preachers, like most of the Separatist leaders, whether at large in England, hanged, imprisoned, or in Amsterdam, were Cambridge men, and one is tempted to say that the Pilgrim movement began not in Marian London or Gainsborough or Babworth but at Cambridge University (more than once denounced as 'a vile cesspool of sedition').

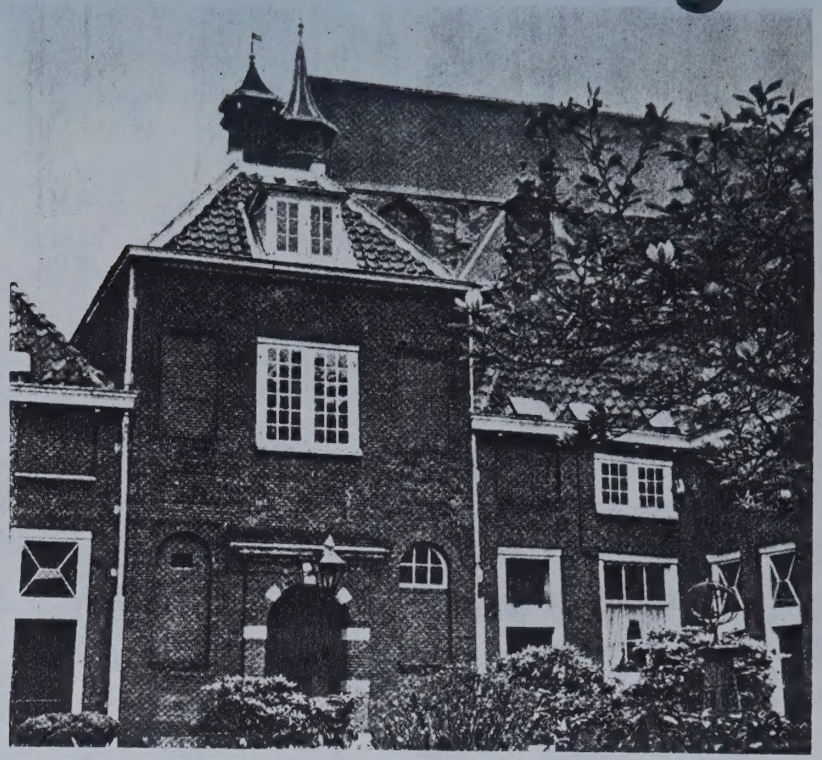
John Smyth, sometime fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, began a Separatist congregation at Gainsborough, but Edward Arber calls this only an accidental help and insists that the Pilgrim movement began in the rectory and church of Babworth. In fact the root of the movement has several fangs. The Rector of Babworth was Richard Clifton who became pastor of Scrooby congregation in 1606 with John Robinson as his assistant. These two had apparently been holding meetings on Separatist principles

The Bible in
English, that is to say the con-
tent of all the holy scripture, both
of the old and new testament, trans-
lated after the verye of the
Hebrew and Greke tetes, by ye
ryght famous & ryght excellent
learned men, expert in ye forsyd
tongues.
Imprynted by Richard Grafton &
Edward Whytchurch.
Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum
solum.
1539.

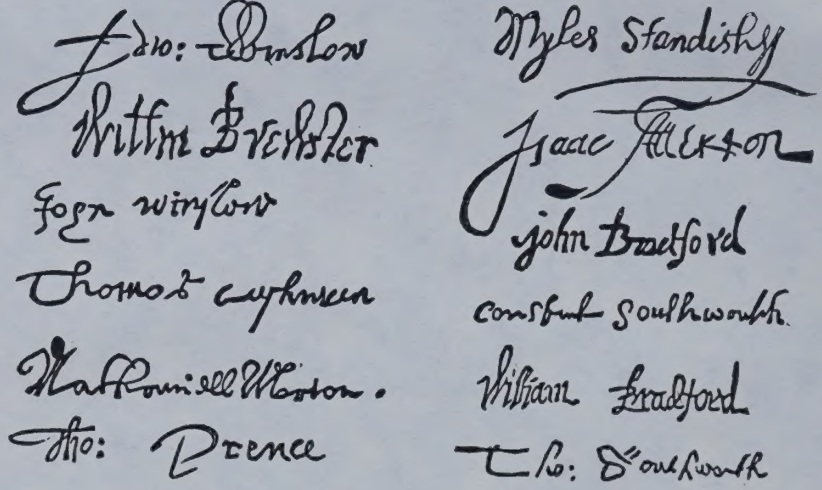


ACTES
and Monuments
of these latter and perilous dayes,
touching matters of the Church, wherein
are comprehended and brought
vnto a notable number, the great persecu-
tions & horrible vexations, that have been wrought
and practised by the Romish Sea against the
Christian Saints, here in this world
beneath, from the yeere of our Lord a
thousand, vnto the yeere
present.
Gathered and collected according to the
true copies & writings certificatorie as well
of the Martyrs themselves, as also of
other of the Aduerse Aduersaries,
which have the doings thereof,
by John Foxe.
Imprinted at London by John Day,
Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

Title pages of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (left) and The Great Bible (1539).



The garden in Leyden round which the Pilgrims lived, with the roof of the Pieterskerk visible behind the Jean Pesijn Hof.



Autographs of the Pilgrim Fathers.

Pilgrims

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

ago.

"This is a place where we can build some more of our family heritage," Chandler said.

An important piece in that building process will actually begin this Thanksgiving as the family members plan to travel to the church site the day after the holiday so that they can be bestowed with articles from residents in the area who had heard of their plans to restore the old church. The entire family is thankful that so many people are supportive in their quest to preserve a portion of their family's history as they have come to be thankful for their long and rich heritage to the pilgrims.

"Thanksgiving has not changed much since we have found our family roots. It has always been a day to recognize that which has been given by God," said Chandler. "The only change now is that family heritage is now a strong part of our already established Christian heritage."

It is a strong Christian heritage too that links another pilgrim descendant in Greendale back to his family just a few miles apart and sharing an even more similar past than they may be aware.

From the days of the Pilgrims, the Bible has been passed down generation to generation through the lines of the Smith family and has come to be almost a good luck charm for each of the men who had carried it with them in various wars in American history. In 1942, Mary Alden Carver Naud wrote a synopsis of the Bible's travel through war-torn history.

"This old Bible has been carried by various members of the Carver family through each of the principle American wars, beginning with the French and Indian, then the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican war, the Civil War, the Spanish-American and World War I. In each case it has been returned by the soldier who carried it."

Since Naud's documentation, the Bible was carried through World War II by Leon Carver, a naval officer. From him, it was passed along to Irwin's cousin, Keith Jahnke. Jahnke had been called to serve in the Vietnam War. He did not take the Bible with him to war. Oddly enough, he is the only one of the family's soldiers to ever be killed while serving in the military.

"He was the only one to be killed," said Smith. "It's sort of eerie at times when you really stop to think about it."

Smith isn't bold enough to speculate on whether or not the Bible has served as a family good luck charm, but the coincidence is very interesting. He now has possession of the Bible, and has a history teacher and later a principal at Oak Creek High School for many years.

"It was interesting to see as many people in our family who have been in the education field," Smith said.

And an integral part of Smith's own education has been the learning of the family history through his aunt's tireless hours of genealogical research and travel. Knowing the link with the Pilgrims is not something Smith and his family think about on a daily basis, he said, but it is something that comes to the forefront of Thanksgiving.

"When Thanksgiving comes around, that's the time when you think about it. It doesn't come up on a daily basis. When you really do think about (the heritage) it sort of lays out an obligation you have to keep the family tradition going," he said.

Smith's family tradition has always been Christian oriented, and the Bible seems to provide strong testament to the tie between a family's heritage and their Christian beliefs. Both of which, for Smith, got their start here by way of the pilgrims.

1620, and Standish later married his second wife, Barbara. It is from this lineage that Lemanski has been able to make her connection back 11 generations back to the Pilgrims.

"I did all my own research, and I never came home empty-handed . . . it started pretty much out of curiosity in wanting to know where my family really came from," she said.

Like Chandler, genealogy has become a passion with Lemanski who did not stop with her search back to the Pilgrims, but went further back to tracing her roots through English royalty and even back to Adam.

"Some people don't believe that you can trace your history back that far because the records aren't there except for what is recorded in the Bible," said Lemanski. "When you go back 16 generations, I think you can find you're related to everyone."

Lemanski's link to the English line of royalty was found through her ancestry to Andrew Howard, who was the family member who brought the heritage to Oakfield, Wis. in 1847. The family came to the Midwest at that time as the government was offering land for $1.25 per acre, said Lemanski. The family bought more than 400 acres of land and settled here.

Lemanski has traveled to Oakfield, where Andrew Howard and many of his family members are buried. She has also gone to Plymouth and Connecticut to see where her roots in the new world began. The process of uncovering

Pilgrims

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

ago.

"This is a place where we can build some more of our family heritage," Chandler said.

An important piece in that building process will actually begin this Thanksgiving as the family members plan to travel to the church site the day after the holiday so that they can be bestowed with articles from residents in the area who had heard of their plans to restore the old church. The entire family is thankful that so many people are supportive in their quest to preserve a portion of their family's history as they have come to be thankful for their long and rich heritage to the pilgrims.

"Thanksgiving has not changed much since we have found our family roots. It has always been a day to recognize that which has been given by God," said Chandler. "The only change now is that family heritage is now a strong part of our already established Christian heritage."

It is a strong Christian heritage too that links another pilgrim descendant in Greendale back to his family's heritage. Irwin Carver Smith Jr., by way of his now deceased aunt Margaret Smith Wilson's extensive research, has been able to trace his ties back to two pilgrims: John Carver, the first governor of Plymouth, and Francis Cooke, the 17th signee of the Mayflower Compact. An important piece of the family history revolves around a family Bible bearing the date 1710 and believed to have once been John Alden's personal Bible, coincidentally.

And now we have the two families — the Chandlers and the Smiths — living just a few miles apart and sharing an even more similar past than they may be aware.

From the days of the Pilgrims, the Bible has been passed down generation to generation through the lines of the Smith family and has come to be almost a good luck charm for each of the men who had carried it with them in various wars in American history. In 1942, Mary Alden Carver Naud wrote a synopsis of the Bible's travel through war-torn history.

"This old Bible has been carried by various members of the Carver family through each of the principle American wars, beginning with the French and Indian, then the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican war, the Civil War, the Spanish-American and World War I. In each case it has been returned by the soldier who carried it."

Since Naud's documentation, the Bible was carried through World War II by Leon Carver, a naval officer. From him, it was passed along to Irwin's cousin, Keith Jahnke. Jahnke had been called to serve in the Vietnam War. He did not take the Bible with him to war. Oddly enough, he is the only one of the family's soldiers to ever be killed while serving in the military.

"He was the only one to be killed," said Smith. "It's sort of eerie at times when you really stop to think about it."

Smith isn't bold enough to speculate on whether or not the Bible has served as a family good luck charm, but the coincidence is very interesting. He now has possession of the Bible, and has made a promise to pass it along to his oldest son to continue the tradition.

Another interesting piece of the Smith family heritage is the fact that many of the ancestors were involved in the field of education. Nathaniel Carver, the first of Smith's ancestors to settle in Wisconsin, was a teacher and then a principal in Gotham in the 1880s. Following Carver, his daughter Maude — who is Smith's grandmother — was a pioneer teacher in early school systems in the state. Smith himself was a history teacher and later a principal at Oak Creek High School for many years.

"It was interesting to see as many people in our family who have been in the education field," Smith said.

And an integral part of Smith's own education has been the learning of the family history through his aunt's tireless hours of genealogical research and travel. Knowing the link with the Pilgrims is not something Smith and his family think about on a daily basis, he said, but it is something that comes to the forefront of Thanksgiving.

"When Thanksgiving comes around, that's the time when you think about it. It doesn't come up on a daily basis. When you really do think about (the heritage) it sort of lays out an obligation you have to keep the family tradition going," he said.

Smith's family tradition has always been Christian oriented, and the Bible seems to provide strong testament to the tie between a family's heritage and their Christian beliefs. Both of which, for Smith, got their start here by way of the pilgrims.

She had never had a traditional Thanksgiving dinner until after she was married, but Rhoda Lemanski of Cudahy has made up for lost time once she realized her ties to the pilgrim Miles Standish.

Described as short and stout with fiery red hair to match his temperament, Cpt. Miles Standish was the first military leader of the Pilgrims. He came on the Mayflower as a 36-year-old married soldier. His first wife Rose died during that first bitter winter of 1620, and Standish later married his second wife, Barbara. It is from this lineage that Lemanski has been able to make her connection back 11 generations back to the Pilgrims.

"I did all my own research, and I never came home empty-handed . . . it started pretty much out of curiosity in wanting to know where my family really came from," she said.

Like Chandler, genealogy has become a passion with Lemanski who did not stop with her search back to the Pilgrims, but went further back to tracing her roots through English royalty and even back to Adam.

"Some people don't believe that you can trace your history back that far because the records aren't there except for what is recorded in the Bible," said Lemanski. "When you go back 16 generations, I think you can find you're related to everyone."

Lemanski's link to the English line of royalty was found through her ancestry to Andrew Howard, who was the family member who brought the heritage to Oakfield, Wis. in 1847. The family came to the Midwest at that time as the government was offering land for $1.25 per acre, said Lemanski. The family bought more than 400 acres of land and settled here.

Lemanski has traveled to Oakfield, where Andrew Howard and many of his family members are buried. She has also gone to Plymouth and Connecticut to see where her roots in the new world began. The process of uncovering family history, she said, is never ending and has taught her a lot about the way she and her family observes Thanksgiving. She isn't sure how the celebration of the holiday through a big turkey dinner with all the fixings got lost in her family's tradition, but that is something she has reinstituted so that it can be continued on through her children.

"Thanksgiving really does mean more," said Lemanski, "now that I know where it came from within my own family."

Pilgrim history: Dispelling the myths

By Maria L. Huetti

They've often been described as devout religious people who were somber in their approach to life, but there are a lot of things about Pilgrims that just aren't included in the usual accounts of history.

Pilgrim dress: Despite the depiction of Pilgrims as wearing only black and white clothing, there is enough evidence documented to show that they really did not dress that way all the time, said Orlando Chandler, descendent of Pilgrims John and Priscilla Alden. Many of the outfits the Pilgrims wore were actually fairly colorful. Chandler's not sure how the perception of them dressing in drab clothing became known as fact, but from his own research, he believes it to be a misnomer. He also said it was very unlikely that the early Pilgrims wore any type of buckles on their shoes or hats. Buckles in those times were expensive and a sign of great wealth, of which most of the passengers on the Mayflower gave up their riches in order to seek religious refuge in the new land.

Pilgrim births: The Pilgrims' beliefs said that if a child was born on a Wednesday, it must have been conceived on a Wednesday. This belief led to great embarrassment at times, for many children were unhappily born on Sunday, the Sabbath day. Some ministers apparently raised question of whether or not children born on Sudnay had due rights to baptism. In one account the wife of a pastor who loved to preach on this subject bestowed her husband with a set of twins born on Sunday.

Pilgrim names: Having a first, middle and last name was nonexistent among the Pilgrims. Pilgrims did not have middle names, and as long as a century after their landing at Plymouth Rock, double names were still uncommon. Occasionally, English parish registers would show name combinations like Fannasabilla, which is Fanny and Sybil combined. One of the earliest boy's names was Maris, in honor of the Virgin Mary.

Pilgrim handwriting: Although the Pilgrims spoke and wrote in English, their style of writing was far different from the written word today. Many words, for instance, were abbreviated by leaving out letters. Sometimes all the letters would be left out in a word except for the first and last letter. In Colonial America, the deletion of letters in words and names was common in letters and documents. For example, the name Abraham often appears as Abra or the word "church" looked like "Ch."

Much of the above documented information was reprinted from the November 1994 Milwaukee County Genealogical Society "Reporter" — a quarterly newsletter published by the society. Each item has been researched from various reference sources by the society.

ily's heritage. Irwin Carver Smith Jr., by way of his now deceased aunt Margaret Smith Wilson's extensive research, has been able to trace his ties back to two pilgrims: John Carver, the first governor of Plymouth, and Francis Cooke, the 17th signee of the Mayflower Compact. An important piece of the family history revolves around a family Bible bearing the date 1710 and believed to have once been John Alden's personal Bible, coincidentally.

And now we have the two families — the Chandlers and the Smiths — living has possession of the Bible, and has made a promise to pass it along to his oldest son to continue the tradition.

Another interesting piece of the Smith family heritage is the fact that many of the ancestors were involved in the field of education. Nathaniel Carver, the first of Smith's ancestors to settle in Wisconsin, was a teacher and then a principal in Gotham in the 1880s. Following Carver, his daughter Maude — who is Smith's grandmother — was a pioneer teacher in early school systems in the state. Smith himself was

She had never had a traditional Thanksgiving dinner until after she was married, but Rhoda Lemanski of Cudahy has made up for lost time once she realized her ties to the pilgrim Miles Standish.

Described as short and stout with fiery red hair to match his temperament, Cpt. Miles Standish was the first military leader of the Pilgrims. He came on the Mayflower as a 36-year-old married soldier. His first wife Rose died during that first bitter winter of family history, she said, is never ending and has taught her a lot about the way she and her family observes Thanksgiving. She isn't sure how the celebration of the holiday through a big turkey dinner with all the fixings got lost in her family's tradition, but that is something she has reinstituted so that it can be continued on through her children.

"Thanksgiving really does mean more," said Lemanski, "now that I know where it came from within my own family."

Pilgrim history: Dispelling the myths

By Maria L. Huetti

They've often been described as devout religious people who were somber in their approach to life, but there are a lot of things about Pilgrims that just aren't included in the usual accounts of history.

Pilgrim dress: Despite the depiction of Pilgrims as wearing only black and white clothing, there is enough evidence documented to show that they really did not dress that way all the time, said Orlando Chandler, descendent of Pilgrims John and Priscilla Alden. Many of the outfits the Pilgrims wore were actually fairly colorful. Chandler's not sure how the perception of them dressing in drab clothing became known as fact, but from his own research, he believes it to be a misnomer. He also said it was very unlikely that the early Pilgrims wore any type of buckles on their shoes or hats. Buckles in those times were expensive and a sign of great wealth, of which most of the passengers on the Mayflower gave up their riches in order to seek religious refuge in the new land.

Pilgrim births: The Pilgrims' beliefs said that if a child was born on a Wednesday, it must have been conceived on a Wednesday. This belief led to great embarrassment at times, for many children were unhappily born on Sunday, the Sabbath day. Some ministers apparently raised question of whether or not children born on Sudnay had due rights to baptism. In one account the wife of a pastor who loved to preach on this subject bestowed her husband with a set of twins born on Sunday.

Pilgrim names: Having a first, middle and last name was nonexistent among the Pilgrims. Pilgrims did not have middle names, and as long as a century after their landing at Plymouth Rock, double names were still uncommon. Occasionally, English parish registers would show name combinations like Fannasabilla, which is Fanny and Sybil combined. One of the earliest boy's names was Maris, in honor of the Virgin Mary.

Pilgrim handwriting: Although the Pilgrims spoke and wrote in English, their style of writing was far different from the written word today. Many words, for instance, were abbreviated by leaving out letters. Sometimes all the letters would be left out in a word except for the first and last letter. In Colonial America, the deletion of letters in words and names was common in letters and documents. For example, the name Abraham often appears as Abra or the word "church" looked like "Ch."

Much of the above documented information was reprinted from the November 1994 Milwaukee County Genealogical Society "Reporter" — a quarterly newsletter published by the society. Each item has been researched from various reference sources by the society.

CONTENTS - JULY 1960

Entered as Second-class matter by
New England Historic Genealogical Society, 9 Ashburton Place, Boston, Massachusetts
Reentry at Montpelier, Vermont

THE
NEW ENGLAND
HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

JULY, 1960

THE ORIGIN OF THE MAYFLOWER CHILDREN: JASPER, RICHARD AND ELLEN MORE

By Anthony R. Wagner, C.V.O., D.Litt., F.A.S.G., Richmond Herald, College of Arms, London, England

The problem of the children Jasper, Richard and Ellen More and their nameless brother, who sailed on the *Mayflower* in 1620, has long intrigued New England genealogists. By good fortune, the answer to this puzzle became known to me in January 1959 and some account of the discovery was given in the London *Times* of 30 June 1959. It was thought, however, that a somewhat fuller account of the evidence would be of interest and it is by the courtesy of Mr. Jasper More of Linley Hall, Shropshire, the owner and discoverer of the crucial document, and by that of *The Times* that I am able to communicate this.

The principal facts hitherto known are given in an article by Dr. Edwin A. Hill, "The English Ancestry of Richard More of the Mayflower", which appeared in 1905 in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* vol. 36, pp. 213-219, 291-301. William Bradford in the account which he put on paper in 1650 of "the names of those which came over first in the year 1620 . . . and their families" (Bradford's "History of Plimoth Plantation", ed. 1901, pp. 531, 534-5) tells us that Mr. John Carver brought with him on the voyage "a child that was put to him, called Jasper More"; of Mr. William Brewster that "a boy was put to him called Richard More"; and another of his brothers; of Mr. Edward Winslow that "a little girl was put to him, called Ellen, the sister of Richard More"; that "Mr. Carver and his wife dyed the first year; he in the spring, she in the sommer; also his man Roger and the little boy Jasper dyed before either of them, of the commone infection"; and finally that "Richard More his brother dyed the first winter; but he is maried, and hath 4 or 5 children, all living".

Richard More (or Moore, as he spelt it) settled in Salem in 1639

Food

Death by chocolate not a bad way to go

By Alison Ashton

When it comes to dessert, it's hard to go wrong with chocolate.

In fact, I can't remember the last time I met someone who didn't like chocolate.

It's hardly surprising that chocolate is seen as the ultimate indulgence.

Devil's Food Cake With Sour Cream Fudge Frosting

Cake:

- ½ teaspoon instant espresso powder
- 1¾ cups warm water
- 1¾ cups cake flour
- ⅔ cup unsweetened nonalkalized cocoa powder
- 1½ teaspoons baking powder
- 1½ teaspoons baking soda
- ½ teaspoon salt
- 4 large eggs
- 1½ cups granulated sugar
- 2 teaspoons pure vanilla extract
- 10 tablespoons unsalted butter, melted

Frosting:

- 6 ounces unsweetened chocolate, coarsely chopped
- 3½ cups confectioners' sugar
- ½ cup sour cream
- 1 tablespoon pure vanilla extract
- ½ cup (1 stick) unsalted butter, softened

Yields 8 to 10 servings.

Preheat oven to 350 degrees. Grease 2 9-inch round cake pans and line bottoms with parchment or wax paper. Lightly grease paper.

In small bowl, dissolve espresso in warm water.

In medium bowl, whisk together flour, cocoa, baking powder, baking soda and salt.

In large bowl, using electric mixer set at medium, beat together eggs and sugar until smooth. Beat in vanilla and melted butter. Alternately beat in coffee and flour mixtures until well blended. (Batter will be quite thin.)

Divide batter evenly between prepared pans and bake for 25 to 30 minutes, or until tops spring back when pressed lightly and skewer or toothpick inserted into centers comes out clean.

Set pans on wire racks to cool for 10 minutes. Using knife, loosen sides of cakes. Invert layers onto wire racks, peel off paper and cool completely.

To prepare frosting: Melt chocolate in top of double boiler set over barely simmering (not boiling) water, stirring until smooth. Or microwave chocolate in microwave-safe container, uncovered, on medium (50 percent) power for 2 to 4 minutes, stirring once, until chocolate is shiny; remove from microwave and stir until smooth and melted. Set aside to cool to lukewarm.

Devil's Food Cake — Nothing is such a universal tempter of chocolate lovers as a thick moist slice of Devil's Food Cake.

In medium bowl, using electric mixer set at medium-high, beat together confectioners' sugar, sour cream. vanilla and cooled melted chocolate until smooth. Add softened butter 2 tablespoons at a time, beating until smooth and creamy after each addition.

Spread ⅓ of frosting over one of cake layers. Top it with other layer. Use remaining frosting to frost top and sides of cake. For smooth finish, dip metal spatula in hot water, wipe it dry and smooth it over frosting.

Chocolate Angel Food Cake

- 1⅓ cups superfine sugar (divided use)
- 1 cup sifted cake flour
- ⅓ cup unsweetened cocoa powder
- 14 large egg whites, at room temperature
- 1½ teaspoons cream of tartar
- ¼ teaspoon salt
- 2 teaspoons Triple Sec (optional)
- 1½ teaspoons vanilla

Preheat oven to 350 degrees.

In medium bowl whisk together ⅔ cup sugar, flour and cocoa powder.

In large bowl, using electric mixer at medium speed, beat egg whites until thick and foamy. Increase speed to high; add cream of tartar, salt, Triple Sec (if using) and vanilla. Continue beating until soft peaks form. Gradually sprinkle remaining ⅔ cup sugar over top and continue beating on high speed, until peaks are glossy and stiff, but not dry and overbeaten.

Gently and quickly fold in flour mixture in three batches using rubber spatula, slotted spoon or large balloon whisk. Pour into *ungreased* 10-inch tube pan with removable sides; run sharp knife through batter to break any air pockets.

Bake for 40 minutes, or until tester inserted in center comes out clean.

Hang cake inverted on wine bottle or funnel or invert on wire rack, and cool completely. Run thin metal spatula or sharp knife around sides and release from pan.

Spending Thanksgiving with real Pilgrims

Local descendants of the Mayflower have plenty of thanks, and stories, to give

By Maria L. Huetti

SOUTHHAMPTON, ENGLAND, 1620 —

One hundred twenty people gather anxiously at the dock waiting to set sail on a voyage to religious freedom. What lies ahead of them in their trip across the great Atlantic Ocean surely can't be imagined in even their wildest dreams.

Their final landing spot: Plymouth, Massachusetts. The hoard of sea travelers set foot in the new land to begin their colonization of the free world.

The winter after the landing was brutal on the Pilgrims as many died from cold and starvation. Those who came out alive in the spring of 1621 were not quite as big in numbers at 51, but were more powerful through experience.

So began the birth of a new people in a new land giving thanks for the strenth to endure the tribulations put before them, and thus began the autumn harvest festival later to be known as Thanksgiving Day.

* * *

For most of us, our knowledge of the Pilgrims' voyage and their later tribulations means little more than a paragraph read in a history book somewhere during the course of our schooling. We all celebrate with the turkey and the stuffing on Thanksgiving Day, and probably give little thought as to the people who brought us here before digging into that second helping of mashed potatoes. But for some suburbanites, the paragraph in the textbooks only begins an introduction to a long and rich history — their family history.

Orlando Chandler of Wauwatosa looks differently on the Thanksgiving celebration than most of us do. For him, his wife Kay and their son Jason, the day marks only one in the rich family history that begins in this country with their early Pilgrim ancestors, John and Pricella Alden.

Chandler has traced his family roots back eleven generations to find his ties to the Aldens who were both travelers on the Mayflower. John was part of the ship's crew holding the position of cooper, and Pricella Mullens came as a teen-ager with her brother and their parents. Chandler began his voyage back in his family genealogy 15 years ago because he was curious to find out more about his family's roots. He never expected at that time to find his heritage to be so filled with interesting people let alone for him to be related to some of the original Pilgrims.

"Finding my family links to them doesn't change who I am," said Chandler. "What it does do is make me a little more aware of my responsibilities."

The deep responsibility the pilgrims had to their service, their faith, their community and their fellow man is something Chandler has tried to adopt in his own set of principles, he said. Knowing that his ancestors were responsible for so much, yet began with so little when they came here, gives Chandler a sense of pride in his family history.

Also part of the Chandler history is the way in which ancestors seemed to feel driven to challenge new frontiers. John and Pricella themselves, along with some of the other Pilgrims, pioneered the first community after Plymouth known as Duxbury. Duxbury is located around the bay from Plymouth, and Chandler has found that the Aldens came to settle there because it was found the farmland was more workable than the land found in Plymouth. In Duxbury, John and his son built their family home, part of which is believed to be still standing today at its original site, said Chandler. In fact the Chandlers have traveled there to be delighted by all the family heritage they've found including numerous family homes, a street named after Edmund Chandler — the first traceable ancestor in the United States carrying the Chandler name — and the actual graves of many family members.

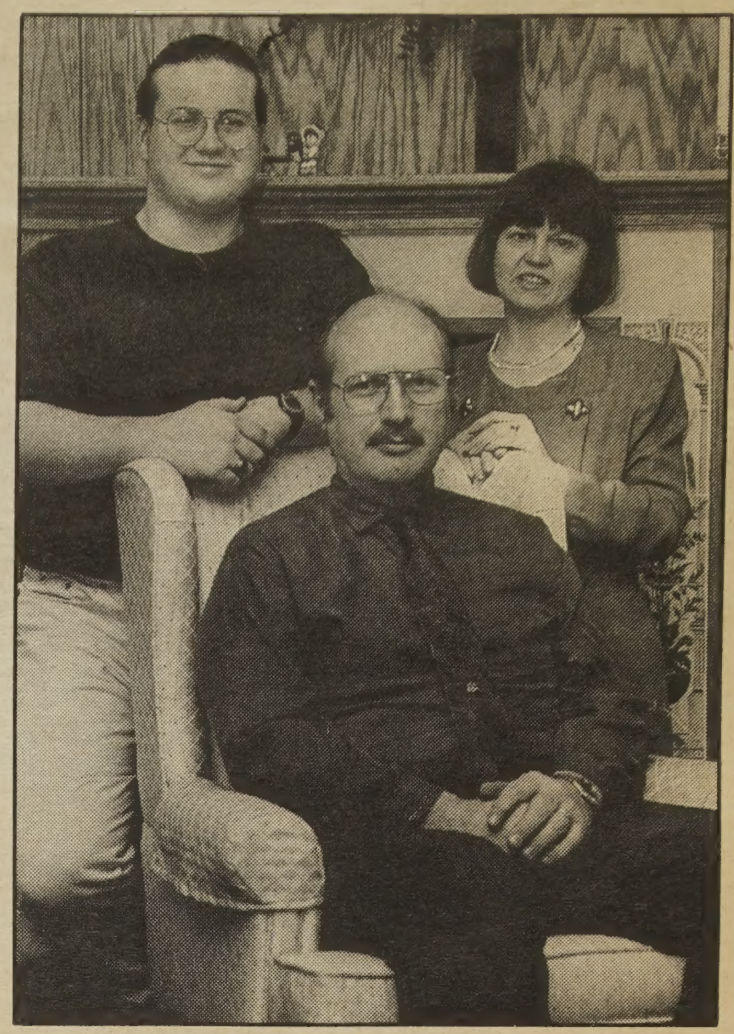
"It's really amazing when you actually go to the place where you know things began and can actually see history come to life," said Chandler.

Chandler's ancestors did not end their migration deeper into the frontier merely with their travel to Duxbury. Eventually, descendants made their way to the Midwest, first arriving in Illinois, then to Minnesota, and finally in Wisconsin in 1836. One of the first Chandler ancestors to establish roots in the Midwest was Rev. Samuel P. Chandler, Orlando's great, great-grandfather.

"He is, without a doubt, my favorite ancestor," Chandler said.

Chandler found, by sifting through countless records, that the reverend was a pillar of the small Minnesota community in which he founded. A trip to the town once again is like stepping back into a living history, he said. Today, the original house of S.P. Chandler still stands as does the church he built and preached in. In fact, Chandler recently purchased the church, some of the land surrounding it — which includes a historical cemetery — and a road leading up to it. His plans are to renovate it and bring it back to as close a replication of the way it was when his great, great-grandfather preached within its pulpit many years

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5



The Chandler family of Wauwatosa has a proud heritage that goes all the way back to Plymouth, Mass. — the original home of the Pilgrims.

(CNI photo by Jeff Oien)

Pilgrim life was simple, rustic, and cozy, as these photographs show.

CONTENTS - JULY 1960

Entered as Second-class matter by
New England Historic Genealogical Society, 9 Ashburton Place, Boston, Massachusetts
Reentry at Montpelier, Vermont

THE
NEW ENGLAND
HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

JULY, 1960

THE ORIGIN OF THE MAYFLOWER CHILDREN: JASPER, RICHARD AND ELLEN MORE

By Anthony R. Wagner, C.V.O., D.Litt., F.A.S.G., Richmond Herald, College of Arms, London, England

The problem of the children Jasper, Richard and Ellen More and their nameless brother, who sailed on the *Mayflower* in 1620, has long intrigued New England genealogists. By good fortune, the answer to this puzzle became known to me in January 1959 and some account of the discovery was given in the London *Times* of 30 June 1959. It was thought, however, that a somewhat fuller account of the evidence would be of interest and it is by the courtesy of Mr. Jasper More of Linley Hall, Shropshire, the owner and discoverer of the crucial document, and by that of *The Times* that I am able to communicate this.

The principal facts hitherto known are given in an article by Dr. Edwin A. Hill, "The English Ancestry of Richard More of the Mayflower", which appeared in 1905 in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* vol. 36, pp. 213-219, 291-301. William Bradford in the account which he put on paper in 1650 of "the names of those which came over first in the year 1620 . . . and their families" (Bradford's "History of Plimoth Plantation", ed. 1901, pp. 531, 534-5) tells us that Mr. John Carver brought with him on the voyage "a child that was put to him, called Jasper More"; of Mr. William Brewster that "a boy was put to him called Richard More"; and another of his brothers; of Mr. Edward Winslow that "a little girl was put to him, called Ellen, the sister of Richard More"; that "Mr. Carver and his wife dyed the first year; he in the spring, she in the sommer; also his man Roger and the little boy Jasper dyed before either of them, of the commone infection"; and finally that "Richard More his brother dyed the first winter; but he is maried, and hath 4 or 5 children, all living".

Richard More (or Moore, as he spelt it) settled in Salem in 1639

Newsworthy

Job should be fun, CEO tells audience

By Pat Herrington

The catchy title of a guest speaker's address to a women's professional group at the Marriott last week stimulated my curiosity. It had to be pursued.

Beth Frost-Johnson quickly captivated her audience when she challenged them with: "If You Can't Have Fun By Noon, Quit Your Job."

Frost is the chief operating officer for two occupational medical clinics. On her professional speaking circuit, she acts as a stimulus to both management and individuals to improve the environment of the workplace.

"Life is not a dress rehearsal," Frost said. "It's for real. Since we spend one-third of our adult lives in the workplace, we need it to be a productive and enjoyable experience."

In order for this to happen, you must love what you do and you must do what you're good at. She said when this is not the case, it takes its toll physically and emotionally. "Too often," she said, "people rationalize that whatever they're in, they have to stay in it. I encourage people to look at those rationalizations. If you are doing something you hate, it tears apart your self-esteem."

She said sometimes you love something, but you are not good at it. "If you're not having fun at what you do, it's time to look inward. The individual caught in "terminal professionalism," or never having fun, misses the joy of appreciating life."

She cited a recent study done at Stanford University which found that people who describe their work environment as fun were 23 percent more productive than those who describe the environment as stifling. "For those who look primarily at the bottom line, the study demonstrates that a good environment increases profitability."

Frost said if you want to bring your own fun into the workplace, it might be time to "flex your risk muscle." Do the unusual. Do something in a different way to make it more fun. Start a meeting at 8:12 a. m. instead of 9 a.m. It will get noticed.

She brought a squirt gun to demonstrate how to integrate fun into a tedious meeting. "If you're having a discussion meeting about problem solving, it is all too common for one person to suggest: Here's what I think we should do, only to be followed by another saying: That'll never work."

She suggests using brainstorming instead, going around the table inviting each participant to express ideas. The chairman writes all the ideas down for all to see. They continue to go around the table until they run out of ideas.

When a negative comment is made, anyone can use the squirt gun which is in the middle of the table. "Ideas are expressed more freely when there is no criticism. Negative comments never make anyone feel good. This less stressful and more creative format benefits the company and often elicits a combination of the ideas expressed to be the most effective solutions."

Taking fun breaks is another technique that companies find useful. Frost said a software company involved in putting together a huge project had everyone working long days and extra hours. A creative CEO happened to hear that the autumnal equinox is the one day a year when you can make an egg stand on end.

He sent out a memo asking each employee to bring an egg to work the next day. At autumnal equinox time, 3:23 p.m., all employees were told to go out to a non-carpeted area to balance their eggs. "This fun break didn't cost the company anything," Frost said. "People went back to work refreshed, motivated and energized."

She said an employee doesn't want to mess up, but wants to feel competent at what he does. Employees need an environment that allows them to do the job well. Inadequate training and confusing policy or procedure are the the most common roadblocks employees may face.

If looking inward convinces you you are in the wrong job, there are several things you can do. You can take some vocational testing or you can call your mother. "Natural tendencies and abilities are already evident in early childhood," she said. "There can be clues in what you loved as a child and were good at."

Talking to the people you live with and work with can also be helpful. Ask what they think your greatest assets are. Ask a lot of people, people you trust. You need to believe what they say and accept compliments when they are given. It may give you new insights into your natural talents.

While she does not advocate people leaving their jobs indiscriminately, she does stress the importance of making positive decisions about your life and your workplace. "Everyone should have at least one enjoyable moment by noon. If it isn't happening, you've got to step back and ask yourself why.

And she said it doesn't help to blame your boss. "Misery is optional. In any situation, you always have three options. You can change it. You can accept it. Or you can get out of it."

Beth Frost-Johnson gave this address at the monthly meeting of Women in Communications, Inc. The group concentrates its efforts on increasing opportunities for women in the communications field, and promoting First Amendments rights.

Any female working in communications is welcome to join. For further information you can call Sarah Brunner or Sharon Aspenleiter at 543-2100.

and died in 1698-9 leaving issue.[1] On 27 Sept. 1684 he made a deposition (THE REGISTER, vol. 50, p. 208), giving his age as "seaventy yeares or thereabouts" and stating "that being in London att the House of Mr Thomas Weston Ironmonger in the year 1620. He was from thence transported to New Plymouth in New England." This fixes his birth in or about 1614.

In 1899 the parish register of Shipton, Shropshire, was printed by the Shropshire Parish Register Society. A copy of this came to the hands of Dr. Edwin A. Hill, who noticed in it three baptismal entries which fitted the Mayflower children. They were those of *Ellinora Moore filia Samuelis Moore de Larden* on 24 May 1612, of *Jasperus Moore filius Samuelis Moore de Larden Generosi* on 8 Aug. 1613 and of *Richardus Moore filius Samuelis Moore de Larden et uxoris ejus* on 13 Nov. 1614. There was also that of *Maria Moore filia Samuelis More et Caterinae uxoris ejus de Larden* on 16 April 1616.

Now the Mores of Linley and Larden are among the oldest families of the gentry of Shropshire. Samuel More, the father of the children baptized at Shipton, appears in the "Dictionary of National Biography" as a commander on the side of the Parliament in the Civil War. He was born in 1594, the son of Richard More of Linley. In 1610, aged only 16, he married his third cousin Catherine, daughter and heir (since her brother's death in a duel in 1607) of Jasper More of Larden. Since the bride was 23 it looks as if the marriage was arranged to keep Larden in the More family. By 1627, however, Samuel More had married a second wife by whom he had seven children. The eldest of these, another Richard More ultimately succeeded his father at Linley and Larden.

There were thus alternative mysteries. If the children baptized at Shipton were the Mayflower children, why were they shipped overseas and deprived of their inheritance? If they were not the Mayflower children, what became of them? On the whole it seemed that they must be the same, but it was hard to suggest a plausible explanation. Dr. Hill indeed thought that it would be natural for a man of Puritan sympathies, who had lost his wife and been left with young children, "to seek a safe asylum for his helpless, motherless children, in the new commonwealth about to be founded beyond the seas by men of his own religious and political faith". Others, however, found this hard to swallow.

The present Mr. Jasper More of Linley is seventh in descent from Samuel More by his second marriage. He and I were schoolfellows, so that, when I became interested in this problem, my first step was to ask his opinion. This was that, though the identity of the Mayflower children with those baptized at Shipton seemed probable, it was hard to find a plausible explanation of the facts and that all was therefore still surmise. It was, accordingly, with the greatest

[1] For his descendants see Walter Goodwin Davis, "The Ancestry of Phoebe Tilton, 1775-1847", Portland, Maine, 1947, pp. 97-9.

interest that I heard from him in January 1959 that having been kept indoors by snow he had been searching among his archives at Linley and found a document which seemed to solve the problem.

Shortly afterwards he came to London and left the document at the College of Arms for my inspection. In the evening he came to my house and I read it to him. I was by now fully satisfied that the problem had been solved. The document, written on six sides of paper measuring 7½ by 11½ inches, reads as follows:

To the right Honorable Sir James (L)ee knight and Baronett Lord chief Justice of England.

A true declaracon of the disposinge of the fower children of Catherine More sett downe by Samuell More her late husband together wth the reasons movinge him there unto accasioned by a peticōn of hers to tht Lord cheif Justice of England

In July ao dñi 1620 by the appointm^t^ and direccōn of the said Samuell More the fower children of the Petitioner Katharine More were brought up to London by a servant of the father of Samuell and delivered to Philemon Powell who was intreated to deliver them to John Carver and Robert Cushman undertakers for the associats of John Peers for the plantacōn in Virginia The same moneth and yeare the said Carver and Cushman receaved the Children and did covenant and agree to transport them into Virginia & to see that they should be sufficiently kept and maintained wth meate drinke apparrell lodginge and other necessaries and that at the end of seaven Yeers the should have 50 acres of land a peece in the Countrey of Virginia for performance whereof they entered into Articles and they together wth one Mr. Weston an honest and sufficient Merchant gave bond to Mr Paul Harries cosin germane of the said Samuell in the some of 120^ll^ as by the Articles of agreement and bond more at large appeareth the said Paul Harris beinge intreated as a friend in trust to take the bond and Articles in his name the said Samuell being at that time wth his Lord at Bath,

The saide Samuell also trusted his said cosin wth the money to pay them wch was onely paied vizt 80^ll^ and also 20^ll^ more in adventure wth wch 20^ll^ and the proffit that should arise therefrom the portion of such of the children as should best please was purposed to be enlarged

The reasons movinge to this manner of disposinge of the said children are as follow

1. Imprimis the comon fame of the adulterous lief of the said Katherine More wth on Jacob Blakeway a fellow of meane parentage & condicōn wch continued longe before the said Samuell suspected it, and after it was knowne to the said Samuell the apparent likenes & resemblance of most of the said children in their visages & lineaments of their bodies to the said Blakeway./
2. Itm̄ after such time as the said Samuell had forborne the company of the said Katherine and had forewarned the said Blakeway of her company upon certeine knowledge of her lewdnes they notwithstandinge continued priuately to meet together & the said Catherine iustified her actes wth Blakeway as beinge her husband before god alledginge a precontrack wth him before her marriage wth the said Samuell affirminge her accompanyinge wth the said Blakeway lawfull but her marriage wth the said Samuell unlawfull wch contract though she could not sufficiently prove by witnesses yet it was all one before god as she sayed./
3. Itm̄ the foresaid consideracōns movinge the said Samuell to resolve to seperate himself from the said Catherine who through the continuance in sinne became impudent. In April 1616 The said Samuell (hauinge by fine and other assurance in law cutt of his estate tayle in his lands and setled it) came to London to the right honorable the Lord Zouch wth whom he hath euer since continued hauinge taken care for the maintenance of the said children & their educacōn in the Countrey wth certaine tenants of the said Samuell's father and in the towne where he dwelleth unto wch children

the said Catherine often repayred and there used diuers exclamacōns & slaunders & did teare their cloathes from their backes by reason of w^ch & other her continued lewd demeanor the said Samuell's parents were continually vexed & greiued they forbearinge to take the sd children into their house to avoide her slaunders (yf it should have pleased god to visit any of them wth death) of beinge murtherers of them: and wth all to shunne the continuall sight of their great grief of such a spurious broode./

4. Itm̄ the said Blakeway & Catherine growinge more & more impudent & purposinge to obteine a diuorce and to marry (as it seemeth) procured themselves to be cited before the chauncellor of the diocosse wth whom they practized by some friend to obteine a sentence of diuorce & for license to entermarry & wth all by that meanes to free the said Blakeway from any informacōn in the high Comission court for the said offence/
And before the Chauncellor they brande the children further by a confession wch was enacted by these words 14th Junii *1616*, tam prefatus Jacobs Blakeway quam antedicta Katherina More comperuerunt quibus articulo sive crimine incontinentiae vitae sive adulterii iudicialiter objecto fatebantur se insimul plures et iteratis viribs incontinentur vixisse ac adulteriū una comississe./

5. Itm̄ the said Blakeway (beinge articled against in the high Comission court for the adultery aforesaid) exhibited letters testimoniall conteininge the said confession of adultery & a com̄utacon of pennance therefore into the some of 20^11 but it beinge further proved that he had (contrary to the monicōn of the Chauncellor & his oath) accompanied wth the said Catherine since the time of his comutacōn (vizt) since 14° Junii 1616 in secret and obscure places (the said Blakeway to free himself from punishment in the said high comission Court and before the Councell of the Marches of Wales where also he was informed against) procured the kings Matie pardon for adultery wth Catherine the wief of Samuell More under the great seale./

6. Item the said Blakeway hauinge obteined a pdon caryed himself more and more insolently affrontinge the said Samuell's friends & hauinge soe longe continued the company of the sd Catherine in the howses & about the grounds of the sd Samuell to the intollerable provocacōn of his friends by the advise of his councell learned in the lawes he tooke an accōn of tresspasse against the sd Blakeway for breakinge & entringe his house & grounds at Larden & treadinge his grasse to the valew of 10^11 & doinge other enormities to the sd Samuell to his damadge of 1000^11 to wch accōn he pleaded not guilty & upon the evidence at the assisses before Mr Justice Warburton in the Lent 1618 the adultery of the said Blakeway wth Catherine beinge proved the Jury brought 400^11 damages after wch verdict the said Blakeway pleaded errors in arrest of Judgm^t yet notw^thstandinge after many argumn^ts of the errors iudgment was awarded in the king's bench but the sd. Blakeway to prevent execucōn fledd./

7. Itm̄ the said Catherine hauinge refused to accept of her children & reasonable maintenance wth them & hauinge twenty markes a yeere maintenance from the said Samuell by the consent of her friends soe longe as she should absteine from the company of Blakeway yet neuerthelesse she not onely frequented his company but assisted him in his suites by her self & friends wch moved the said Samuell hauinge forborne any suite against her seeinge her impenitent & incorrigible to sue in the Court of audience to be diuorced from her wch suite longe depended & many comissions upon new & friuolous allegacōns were executed to putt the said Samuell to the most charge he bearinge the charge both of pl. & deft. And at leingth upon manifest proofe in trinity tearme 1619 sentence of diuorce was given./

8. Item the said Catherine after the said sentence appealed in to the Court of deligates from the sentence for determininge of wch appeale there were assigned the Lords Bishops of Rochester & Elie Sr William Bird Sr James Hussey Sr John Amy & Dco^r Gooche wch comissioners upon all the proofes at fower severall daies informacōn fower of them beinge present whereof the said Bishop of Ely was one did affirme the former sentence to be iust in trinity tearme 1620 all wch charge & vexacōn the said Catherine (w^thout care of her reputacon or of her children) hath malitiously caused and although at all times the said Samuell and his frinds haue binne willinge to end suites & to agree upon a seperacōn w^thout the publique & chargeable course of law, and to make it appeare to the world that neither he nor his friends desired to gaine any thinge by the match wth her but to depart wth all the proffitt to her & her children and to make any indifferent friends iudges thereof yet she hath still refused & endeuoured his subuersion & intollerable vexacōn alledginge & exclayminge wth Crocadills teares that she brought a great estate of land and that the said Samuell causlessly casteth her of and disinheriteth her children whereas in trueth by the said Match the estate of the said Samuell & his father is ruined the whole estate of land that came by the said Catherine's mariage beinge worth not above 100^11 p annū all wch Jasper More the said Katherines father enioyed duringe his lief & reserved an . . . markes p annū thereout of payeable after his deceasse to Elizabeth his wief duringe her lief who yet enioyeth the same soe that there cometh clerely by the said match but 33^11- 6^s - 8^d p annū for which Richard More father of the said Samuell gave to Jasper 600^11 besides the losse of the preferrment of the said Samuell beinge his sonne & heire and as it hath fallen out great & troublesome suites & vexacōns have ensued & continued these six yeares there beinge eleven yeares compleat since the said match. The premises considered that these children are be [*sic*] branded in their favour wth apparent likeness to the sayd Blakeway and also not only by fame but by testimony of witnesses that proue the very acte of adultery in the mother wth a base fellow, both their confessions & that iudicially before their ordinary the sentences & actes of soe many Courts, verdicts at comōn law, & a pardon from the Kinge procured all caused and forced by the cariages of Blakeway and Katherine or willingely donne by them as plentifull testimony wittnesseth The said Samuell upon good and deliberate advise hath thought fitt to settle his estate upon a more hopefull issue & to provide for the educacōn & maintenance of these children in a place remote from those partes where these great blotts & blemishes may fall upon them and therefore tooke the opportunity of sendinge them when such yonge ones as they went over wth honest & religous people, but such is the restlesse spirit of that wicked woman who cannot be contented to continue her lewde lief but still by complaints bringeth the [passages?] of her lewd life to be published in all places & [countrys?] wch yf there were any modesty lefte she would desire to hide and wch the said Samuell to his great grief is forced by way of his [owne?] defence to discover./

[The document is endorsed:—
"..... Katherine
Mores petition to the
Lo Chief Justice .....
the disposing of her children to
Virginia."]

Though the appearance and internal evidence of the document and its entire consistency with the facts already known left me in no doubt of its authenticity, it was clear that this might in fact be tested by referring to the public records for confirmation of facts therein stated. Mention is made in it of the following legal proceedings:

(1) In or before April 1616 Samuel More cuts an entail and resettles his lands by fine. A record should be found in the Feet of Fines in the Public Record Office.

(2) Matrimonial proceedings on the initiative of Jacob Blakeway and Catherine More before the Chancellor of the Diocese of Hereford in June 1616. The record of this should be in the Bishop's Registry at Hereford.

(3) Proceedings against Blakeway in the Court of High Commission subse-

quent to June 1616. Records of this Court are in the Public Record Office.

(4) Proceedings against Blakeway before the Council of the Marches. The Records of the Council appear to have perished.

(5) Samuel More's action against Jacob Blakeway for trespass and damage at Larden before Mr Justice Warburton at the Lent Assizes 1618. The record should be in the Assize Rolls in the Public Record Office.

(6) Unsuccessful plea by Blakeway for arrest of judgment in the Court of King's Bench. This should be found in the King's Bench Records in the Public Record Office.

(7) Suit by Samuel More in the Court of Audience for divorce from Cather ine ending in sentence of divorce in Trinity term 1619. The Records of the Court of Audience appear to have perished.

(8) Unsuccessful appeal by Catherine against this sentence in the Court of Delegates.

This last was looked for first. The Records of the Court of Delegates are in the Public Record Office. The following references to the case were noted in the Act Books.

Del. 4/8. 1619-21
fo. 77r 3 Dec. 1619
fo. 95v 28 Jan. 1619-20.
fo. 101v 17 Feb. 1619-20.
fo. 110r 5 May 1620
fo. 116v 10 May 1620
fo. 123v 19 May 1620
fo. 128r 29 May 1620
fo. 132v 14 June 1620
fo. 138r 19 June 1620
fo. 146r 30 June 1620
fo. 152r 5 July 1620
fo. 153r 8 July 1620 Porrection of Sentence.

These were not examined but the Definitive Sentence was turned up in the Sentence Book Del. 5/6. 1618/22, m.85. It is dated 8 July 1620, and at great length, and with much verbiage declares Catherine's representations insufficient and her appeal dismissed. It bears the names and signatures of the delegates mentioned in the eighth paragraph of Samuel's draft petition. Of the facts of the case it says nothing, but the correspondence appears sufficient to confirm the general truth of Samuel More's account.

Nothing has yet been learned of the fate of Catherine More and Jacob Blakeway, though Blakeways long continued at Shipton. It will, however, be evident that there is ample room for further research. One of the most striking features of this story is the way in which it brings home to one the immense potential value to genealogists of a class of record seldom used because it is unindexed, uncalendared and hard of access—the records of the ecclesiastical courts.

THE TITUS FAMILY OF DOUGLAS, MASS., AND VERSHIRE, VT.

By Claude W. Barlow, Ph.D., of Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

Joseph[3] Titus (*John,*[2] *Robert*[1]), born in Rehoboth, Mass., 17 March 1665, was living there in 1741. He married there, in 1687-8, Martha Palmer, daughter of Jonah and Elizabeth (Griswold) Palmer. Among their children were two who moved to Worcester County, Mass.

1. i. Joseph,[4] b. in Rehoboth 12 Nov. 1688.
2. ii. Benjamin, b. in Rehoboth 4 Dec. 1693.

1. Joseph[4] Titus (*Joseph,*[3] *John,*[2] *Robert*[1]), born in Rehoboth 12 Nov. 1688, died in Douglas, Mass., 4 June 1756. He married about 1711 Jane ———, died in Douglas 18 Sept. 1776.

Between 1730 and 1740 he resided in Attleborough, Mass., where he was living 14 Sept. 1741, when he purchased 104 acres and a dwelling in the northwest part of Douglas (then called New Sherborn).

His will was dated 22 May 1756 and filed 30 June 1756, witnessed by Thomas Cook, Edward Putnam, and Edward Davis. It appointed son Joseph to be executor, gave to the heirs of son Mical deceased "8 or 9 acres south of the burying place and on a line to manchauge pond", and gave legacies to daughter Elethea Robinson, grandchild Martha Whipple, and daughters Keziah Belue, Jane Robins, Abijah Cushing, Leah Titus, and Isabel Stockwell. Consent to probate of the will was signed by Amariah Ballou, Daniel Whipple Juner, John Robson, Matthew Cushing Juner, and Jane Titus widow.

Children, born in Rehoboth:

3. i. Michael,[5] b. perhaps in 1712. He is called the elder son in all references.
   ii. Allathea, b. 29 May 1714; Alithea m. (1), in Rehoboth, 16 May 1732, John Titus, Jr., d. 9 Oct. 1732; m. (2), 12 Sept. 1734, Isaiah Carpenter of Attleborough, d. there 20 Dec. 1752; m. (3), before date of her father's will, John Robson or Robinson.
   iii. Jonah, b. 1 May 1716, not mentioned in his father's will.
   iv. Martha, b. 19 Jan. 1718/19; d. in Rehoboth 12 Feb. 1736/7; m. Daniel Whipple, Jr., by whom she had a daughter *Martha* mentioned in the will of Joseph[4] Titus.
4. v. Joseph, b. 19 Jan. 1720/1.
   vi. Keziah, b. 11 March 1723; called Keziah Belue in her father's will. In the Ballou genealogy, by Adin Ballou, Amariah Ballou of Cumberland, R. I., had a wife named Keziah, who d. before 24 July 1757, when he m. (2), Mary Gary, but his first wife is identified as Keziah Peters, widow of Asahel Cook.The identification needs further investigation.
   vii. Jane, b. 4 Dec. 1724; m. in Oxford, Mass., 13 Dec. 1744 Ebenezer Robbins.
   viii. Abigail, b. 25 Sept. 1726; m. (int.) in Rehoboth, 26 Oct. 1751, Matthew Cushing, Jr., b. there 29 July 1730, son of Matthew and

some confidence, reconstruct the following family groups.

JOHN SAMPSON of Campton, co. Bedford, of whose wife and probate record we know nothing, is the only father shown to have been having children baptized at Campton in the proper period, so that it seems probable that he was the unrecorded father of the first five children listed below, the rest being recorded as children of a John.

Children: all baptized at Campton except the last

i. John, bapt. 30 March 1571.

ii. James, bapt. 20 June 1574; bur. Henlow, co. Bedford, 2 Feb. 1638/9; m. there, 20 March 1599/1600, Martha Cooper. For fuller details on their family see TAG 52:207 f.

Children:

1. (perhaps) Amy, b. say 1601, bur. Henlow, Oct. 1626.
2. Henry, bapt. Henlow 15 Jan. 1603/4, will dated 24 Dec. 1684, probated 5 March 1684/5 at Duxbury MA; came on the *Mayflower* in 1620; m. Plymouth MA 6 Feb. 1635, Anne Plummer. The Sampson volume of the Mayflower Five Generations project is in preparation.
3. Joseph, bapt. Henlow, 10 Feb. 1604/5; m. ca. 1635 Elizabeth -----, bur. Henlow, 5 Dec. 1651.
4. Mary, bapt. Henlow, 8 Feb. 1606/7, bur. there 6 Oct. 1607.
5. Dorothy, bapt. Henlow, 10 Sept. 1609, d. by 1638-9.
6. Humfrie, bapt. Henlow, 22 Jan. 1610/1, executor of father in 1639.
7. Elizabeth, bapt. Henlow, 5 April 1612; m. there, 10 Oct. 1633, John Cox, bur. 24 Dec. 1642 at Henlow.
8. James, bapt. Henlow, 18 July 1613, bur. there, 16 Oct. 1634.
9. Mirioll, bapt. Henlow, 25 Sept. 1614, bur. there, 28 March 1615.
10. John, bapt. Henlow, 10 July 1616, in father's will 1639.
11. Mary, bapt. Henlow, 24 March 1617/18, bur. there, 30 March 1618.

iii. Laurence, bapt. 25 Nov. 1576; m. Cranfield, co. Bedford, 2 June 1601, Mary Shabery.

Children: bapt. Campton

1. John, bapt. 28 April 1602.
2. Thomas, bapt. 11 Feb. 1604/5.
3. George, bapt. 19 Oct. 1606; m. Campton, 8 Feb. 1629, Judith Robinson.

Children: bapt. Campton

a. Richard, bapt. 30 Jan. 1631/2.
b. Mary, bapt. 7 Dec. 1633.

4. Laurence, bapt. 1 Jan. 1609/10.
5. Francis, bapt. 15 Dec. 1611.
6. Abraham, bapt. 14 Aug. 1614, possibly, though not proved, the Abraham[1] Sampson of Duxbury in 1629. The ages of the two Abrahams are close and the Duxbury man named a son George and a daughter Mary. Furthermore, descendants of Abraham[1] and Henry[1] Sampson intermarried, a common occurrence among cousins in that period.

iv. Thomas, bapt. 21 Dec. 1578.

v. Jone, bapt. 27 Dec. 1580-prob. d. soon.

vi. Jane, bapt. 18 Feb. 1582/3; m. at Campton, 19 July 1605, Henry Dernelye. She and the two younger children are definitely recorded as children of John.

vii. Francis, bapt. 11 Oct. 1584; m. Stotfold, co. Bedford, 10 May 1607, Jane Lilly, bur. Stotfold, 18 April 1608.

Child:

1. Thomas, bapt. Stotfold, 20 March 1608.

viii. ?Ales, bapt. Arlesey, co. Bedford, 1 March 1588/9.

12236 Shadetree Lane, Laurel, MD 20811

THE CHILDREN OF RICHARD TUTTLE OF BOSTON

BY DAVID L. GREENE, PH.D

Neither in Donald Lines Jacobus's *Hale, House and Related Families* (1952) nor in Alva M. Tuttle's *Tuttle-Tuthill Lines in America* (1968), do we find the baptismal records of the three surviving children of Richard[1] and Anne (Taylor) Tuttle of Boston, and both works include only approximate birth years figured from the ages in the 1635 *Planter* passenger list. Recently Mr. J. E. O. Wilshere of Leicester obtained for me copies of the Tuttle entries in the parish registers of Ringstead, co. Northants, and they provide the baptismal dates for Richard Tuttle's children and the burial date for one of them:

1623 Hanna Tuttell filia Richi et Annae Tuttell Baptisata erat 17 die August

1625 [Name illegible because of faded ink] filius Richardi et Annae Tuttle bapt. 12 Junij

1627 Johnathan son of Richard & Anne Tuttell Baptized November 11? [the ? may simply express doubt as to the day]

1630 Rebecca Tootell daughter of Richard Tootel was baptized May 27

1631 Jonathan Tootell sonne of Richard Tootell was buried Octo 13th

The child baptized in 1625 must have been the son John who was 10 in the 1635 passenger lists. In TAG 54:173, I pointed out that Richard Tuttle probably had a son born by 19 Dec. 1627, when the will of Simon Tuttle mentions Richard's eldest and second sons, and dead before the 1635 passenger lists. The Ringstead records confirm that conclusion. The missing son was Jonathan, baptized November 1627, buried 13 Oct. 1631.

In addition the following other entries are of interest:

1607 Willm Tootell sonne of Symon Tootell was baptiz. this 26 off december

1631 John sonne of William Tootell was Babtised Decem. the 8th

1632/3 Anne daughter of William Tootell was Babtised Janu. 20th

1634 Thomas Tuttell sonne of William Tuttell was Babtised Janu. 4.

Box 368, Demorest, GA 30535

to London. How many persons constituted this "familie" is unknown; his wife probably was with him, and the son Thomas who afterward came over, and there may have been younger children by this second wife; they, however, remained in England. Cushman endeavored to placate the wrath of Weston and his associates, and to bring them to the point of further assisting the Plantation in New England. He must have succeeded in a measure, since the Adventurers sent him over in the *Fortune*, a year later, to examine affairs and return to them with a report; and with him forwarded some thirty-five new colonists. Thomas Cushman, then a lad of fourteen years, sailed with them; on his father's return, the son was left at Plymouth in the care of William Bradford.

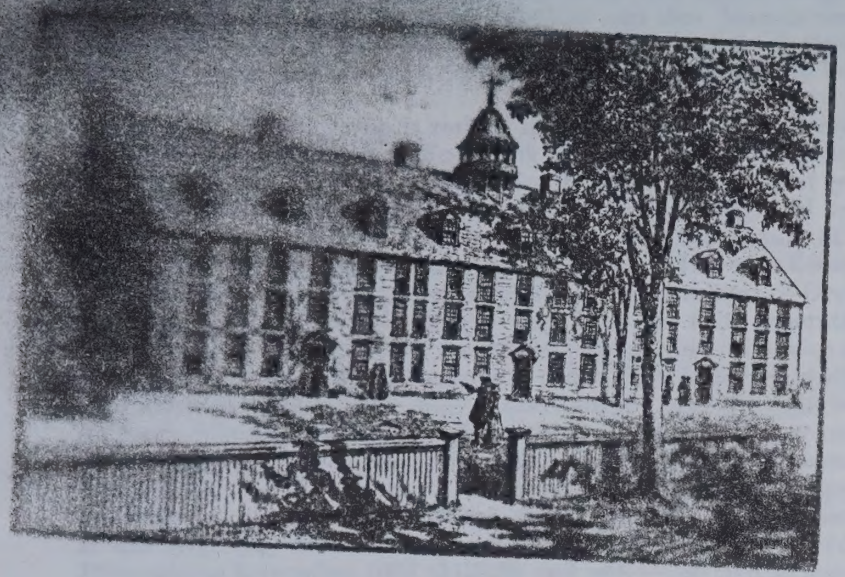
On November 10, 1621, just one year from the day the *Mayflower* sighted the hills of Cape Cod, the *Fortune* reached the shores of New Plymouth; * her unexpected arrival occasioned great rejoicing. Robert Cushman had come primarily to persuade the Planters to accept the "two articles" which they had rejected at Southampton. They were in such straits that they chose to do so rather than to allow the Adventurers to abandon the enterprise. Yet it is interesting to know that Cushman labored long and earnestly with them before the matter was satisfactorily concluded. He preached a sermon, in the "common-house," where religious services were held, on Sunday, December 9, 1621, on "The Sin and Danger of Self-love," taking for his text 1 Cor. x: 24: "Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth." † It is said to have been "in truth rather a dull

* "She came ye 9. to ye Cap [Cape Cod]." (Bradford's *History of Plimoth Plantation*, 1898 : 127.)

† On his return to England, this discourse, often alluded to as "the first sermon in New England," was printed; and it has appeared since in several editions. Goodwin says that the "so-called sermon is mainly the censorious plea of an attorney for the Adventurers. If any reply was made, Cushman naturally omitted to print it."

OLD FORT AND CHURCH OF PLYMOUTH, 1622.

Book at Madison



THE FIRST YALE COLLEGE HOUSE

MOORE

AND ALLIED FAMILIES

The Ancestry of William Henry Moore

L. EFFINGHAM DE FOREST, M.A., J.D., F.I.A.G., F.S.G.

AND

ANNE LAWRENCE DE FOREST

THE DE FOREST PUBLISHING COMPANY

NEW YORK, NEW YORK, 1938

Collier, Tuttle, Ford, Brewster, Morton, etc

the wife of Isaac Allerton, Jr., has not been identified, this deed suggests that Isaac Allerton, Jr., married as his first wife a daughter of Joanna Swinnerton afterwards Allerton and that Joanna was a widow when she married her future son-in-law's father. A careful search of Swinnerton deeds in Essex County, Mass., appears to be in order.

Col. John E. Soule, who is retired from a career of active service in the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers which included assignments as military attache in the foreign service, brings to the study of genealogy a trained and methodical mind as well as a delightful sense of humor and a twinkling eye. Long interested in the history of his progenitors he is devoting his time and energy to The Soule Kindred and the "five generation" project covering the descendants of George the Pilgrim. Colonel Soule doesn't stop with the fifth generation, however, but is accumulating, sorting and identifying all Soules and arranging their records in genealogical order. Give him even a slight clue and he is off on a hunt. Adelia, his charming and vivacious wife, indicates that his filing cases will soon use up all available space in their Washington home, and they will soon be living in the kennel. His summary of the history of the Soule Family we are happy to print as an example of the spread of a typical *Mayflower* family. It was originally delivered at the meeting of the Soule Kindred in Plymouth in September 1969, skilfully and well illustrated by a series of remarkably beautiful and interesting slides, some of which he procured from abroad especially for it. We regret that we do not have the facilities to reproduce them.

Other contributors who have helped to make this a truly Pilgrim memorial issue are Mrs. Gerald Inman whose eye caught a record which proves the Holmes descent from Henry Sampson, one of the lesser known Pilgrims, and opens up eligibility for membership in the Society of Mayflower Descendants.

Mrs. L. E. Hendrix, in noting the marriage record of Caleb Howland, remembering the article on his descendants in THE REGISTER, decided to read the full record. Her discovery of its details points up the advisability of checking the original record rather than depending entirely on the printed version of the record.

Mrs. Paul Bogle, of White River Junction, Vt., and Mrs. Richard Jones, of Belfast, Maine, are good scouts, in the figurative as well as the more practical sense of the term. They keep their eyes open and have the instinct of faithful members of a community, the desire to preserve for others records which might otherwise be lost forever. The Alden and Soule records which they have rescued from oblivion will be of use to others seeking progenitors.

To Miss Laura Pettingell, of Cambridge, Mass., we take this opportunity to say "Thanks" for many, many favors. She has just completed a term as a member of the Council of the Society, where her ability to give expression to her experience has been of value. Her knowledge of genealogical evidence has sharpened her assessment of the value of family, as well as official records.

THE ROYAL DESCENT OF A MAYFLOWER PASSENGER

By SIR ANTHONY WAGNER, K.C.V.O.

Garter King of Arms, College of Arms, London, England

Ten years ago I was able to present in THE REGISTER (vol. 114, p. 163-168, July 1960) evidence which settled the long vexed question of the parentage of the "Mayflower children", Jasper, Richard and Ellen More. This was a declaration made in or about 1620 to the Lord Chief Justice of England by Samuel More (1594-1662) of Linley, Shropshire, a commander on the Parliament side in the Civil War, 'of the disposing of the four children of Catherine More by Samuel More her late husband together with the reasons moving him thereunto'. The document had been found among his family muniments in January 1959 by my friend and former schoolfellow, the present Mr. Jasper More of Linley, Member of Parliament for Ludlow.

It tells a sad but fascinating story. Samuel More had been married in 1610 when only sixteen to his third cousin Catherine More, the heiress of Larden, then aged 23, presumably in order to keep that property in the family. Between 1612 and 1616 four children were born and baptised as Samuel's before he became aware of "the common fame of the adulterous life of the said Katherine More with one Jacob Blakeway, a fellow of mean parentage and condition" and noticed "the apparent likeness and resemblance of most of the said children in their visages and lineaments of their bodies to the said Blakeway".

The declaration then tells of Catherine's efforts to obtain a divorce from the ecclesiastical court in order to marry Blakeway, of her rejection of her children, and of how Samuel first boarded them with a tenant of his father's and then covenanted with "honest and religious people" "to transport them into Virginia and to see that they should be sufficiently kept and maintained with meat drink apparel lodging and other necessaries and that at the end of seven years they should have 50 acres of land apiece in the Country of Virginia".

So they sailed in the Mayflower as wards of John Carver, William Brewster, and Edward Winslow. Only the boy Richard More (1614-1699) survived childhood; he, as is well known, in time settled in Salem and left descendants. It always seemed to me that he, of all the Pilgrims, could be shown to be of royal descent and I planned, if ever I had occasion or leisure, to investigate this point. When asked by the Editor of THE REGISTER in September 1969 if I could provide an article connected with the Pilgrims I resolved to make a search. Two lines have so far emerged; one legitimate and fairly well documented from David I, King of Scotland, from the Saxon Kings, from a sister of William the Conqueror and from Charlemagne; the other, at the present much less well documented, from John de Botetourt, now believed to have been a natural son of Edward I, King of England (cf. *ibid.*, vol. 119, p. 99, April 1965). Others will perhaps be able to improve on this beginning.

First Line

1. MALCOLM III, King of Scotland 1058-1093, mar. 1068 [St.] Margaret, dau. of Edward the Aetheling, son of Edmund Ironside, King of England, a descendant of King Alfred (AR, p. 19).
2. DAVID I, King of Scotland 1124-1153, mar. 1113 Maud, dau. of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon, by Maud (d. 1130-1), niece of William the Conqueror (CP, vol. 6, p. 638-642).
3. HENRY, Earl of Huntingdon (d. 1152), mar. Ada (d. 1178), dau. of William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, by Isabel, dau. of Hugh, Count of Vermandois, a descendant of Charlemagne (*ibid.*, p. 642; AR. p. 65).
4. DAVID, Earl of Huntingdon (d. 1219), mar. 1190 Maud, dau. of Hugh, Earl of Chester (CP, vol. 6, p. 646-7).
5. ADA mar. Sir Henry de Hastings of Ashill, Norfolk (d. 1250) (*ibid.*, p. 345).
6. SIR HENRY DE HASTINGS of Ashill (d. 1268/9) mar. Joan, dau. of Sir William de Cantelou (*ibid.*, p. 345-6).
7. SIR JOHN DE HASTINGS of Abergavenny, Lord Hastings (b. 1262, d. 1312/3), a competitor for the crown of Scotland, 1292, mar. Isabel (d. 1352/3), dau. of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke (*ibid.*, p. 346-8).
8. ELIZABETH mar. Sir Roger de Grey of Ruthin, co. Denbigh, Lord Grey (d. 1352/3) (*ibid.*, p. 152-3).
9. JULIANE (d. 1361) mar. 1329/30 John Talbot of Richard's Castle co. Hereford (d. 1355) (*ibid.*, vol. 12, pt. 1, p. 630).
10. JOHN TALBOT of Richard's Castle (d. 1374/5) mar. Katherine (d. 1381) (*ibid.*, p. 631).
11. ELIZABETH (d. 1407) mar. Sir Warin l'Arcedeckne, Lord Arcedeckne (d. 1400) (*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 187; vol. 12, pt. 1, p. 631).
12. ELEANOR (d. 1447) mar. 1385 Sir Walter Lucy of Newington, Kent (d. 1444) (*ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 261-2).
13. ELEANOR mar. Thomas Hopton of Hopton, co. Salop (see no. 9 in the Second Line) (*ibid.*, p. 263).
14. ELIZABETH (b. 1426/7, d. 1498) mar. 1st, Sir Roger Corbet of Moreton Corbet, co. Salop (d. 1467). She mar. 2ndly, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who d. 1470, and 3rdly, Sir William Stanley, K. G., who d. 1494/5 (*ibid.*, vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 845).
15. JANE mar. Thomas Cresset of Upton Cresset, co. Salop. Will dated 20 Aug. 1520 (Shropshire Archaeological & Natural History Society *Transactions*, 4th Ser., vol. 6, p. 216).
16. RICHARD CRESSET of Upton Cresset mar. Jane, dau. of Walter Wrottesley (d. 1473) of Wrottesley, co. Stafford (College of Arms, MS. Vincent 134, fo. 257: William Salt Society, New Ser., vol. 6, pt. 2, p. 400).
17. MARGARET mar. Thomas More of Larden, co. Salop (College of Arms MS. C. 20, fo. 137, Visitation of Shropshire 1623).
18. JASPER MORE of Larden, will dated 27 May 1611, proved 25 May 1614 (P.C.C. 42 Lawe), mar. Elizabeth, dau. of Nicholas Smalley.
19. KATHERINE MORE mar. Samuel More of Linley, mother by Jacob Blakeway of an illegitimate son called:
20. RICHARD MORE, of Salem, passenger in the *Mayflower*.

Second Line

1. EDWARD I, King of England 1272-1307, had an illegitimate son:
2. JOHN BOTETOURT, Lord Botetourt (d. 1324), mar. about 1285 Maud, dau. of Thomas FitzOtes of Mendlesham, Suffolk (Hailes Abbey Chronicle, British Museum MS. Cotton, Cleopatra D. III, fo. 51; *Handbook of British Chronology*, Royal Hist. Soc., 2nd ed. (1961), p. 35; CP, vol. 2, p. 233-4).
3. MAUD (d. 1391), said to have been dau. of 2, mar. 1327 Reynold, Lord Grey of Wilton (b. 1311, d. 1370) (CP, vol. 6, p. 176-7).
4. HENRY, Lord Grey of Wilton (b. ca. 1340, d. 1396), mar. 1379 Elizabeth (d. 1402), said to be dau. of Gilbert, Lord Talbot, of Eccleswall, co. Hereford (*ibid.*, p. 177-8).
5. RICHARD, Lord Grey of Wilton (b. ca. 1393, d. 1461), mar. 1st (it is said) Blanche, dau. of Sir Philip de la Vache. Had no. 6, below, been his son by the second wife, Margaret, dau. of William, Lord Ferrers of Groby (as asserted in MCS, p. 85), there would be a legitimate descent here from Edward I. Since, however, that marriage took place in 1427, this is chronologically impossible (CP, vol. 6, p. 178-9).
6. ALICE (stated in College of Arms MSS, Vincent 51, fo. 40 and 134, fo. 134, and by Owen & Blakeway, *History of Shrewsbury*, vol. 2, p. 139 to have been dau. of no. 5 above, but in Harleian Society edition of the *Visitation of Shropshire*, p. 254, to have been dau. of Sir Richard Pembridge, K. G.) mar. Sir William Burley of Bromcroft, co. Salop (d. 1470), Speaker of the House of Commons 1436-43 (DNB, vol. 7, p. 376: Shropshire Archaeological & Natural History Society *Transactions*, 4th Ser., vol. 6, p. 232).
7. ELIZABETH mar. 1st, Sir John Hopton (*ibid.*, p. 233).
8. SIR WALTER HOPTON mar. Joan, dau. & coheir of Sir Walter Mortimer (College of Arms, MS. Vincent 134, fo. 134).
9. THOMAS HOPTON mar. Eleanor, dau. of Sir Walter Lucy (see no. 13 of the First Line above).

Abbreviations

CP = *Complete Peerage*, new edition (14 vols.), 1910-1959.
AR = F. L. Weis, *Ancestral Roots of Sixty Colonists* (1951).
MCS = A. Adams & F. L. Weis, *The Magna Carta Sureties*, 1215 (1955).

PLIMOTH PLANTATION

A Pilgrim Anniversary issue of THE REGISTER would not be complete without a few words about the reconstituted Pilgrim village known as Plimoth Plantation. Built on land similar in formation to that upon which the first settlers dwelt, its faithfully re-created homes with their thatched roofs and fenced kitchen gardens provide an authentic picture of life in the early years of the Colony.

An excerpt from The Articles of Incorporation of the Plantation sets forth its purposes: "The creation, construction and maintenance of a Pilgrim Village as a Memorial to the Pilgrim Fathers; . . . the restoration or reproduction of antiquarian houses and buildings, implements, tools and facilities; the historical education of the public with respect to the struggles of the early Settlers in the Town of Plymouth, the expansion of that settlement and the influences of the Pilgrim Fathers throughout the world. . . ." The Board of Governors and Staff of the Plantation continue to study to carry out these announced purposes.

wills of both Jonathan and his son Jeremiah, to have been bought by Jonathan and bequeathed by him, ultimately, to his son Jeremiah.

It should be noted that if Nathan did have a tenth child named Jeremiah, known to us as the sergeant, he would in 1674 have been Jeremiah Jr, since his first cousin of the same name was born in 1648, or, if the Jeremy Senr of 1674 was actually Jeremiah[1], then he would have been Jeremy 3rd. Note, however, that I appear to have found some evidence to show that Jeremiah[1] was recently dead in England in 1676 (see TAG 55:172).

The fact that the Jeremiah who died in 1708 was a sergeant is a bit puzzling, since Mr. Jacobus's view was that his children were all born in England and that he did not actually appear in Simsbury much before about 1690 despite the grant as early as 1674. How a newcomer would be elected sergeant is difficult to understand. The chronology of the births of his children preclude the possibility that the sergeant was actually Jeremiah[1], who must have been one of the older children of the Rev. William Gyllett.

The descendants of Sgt. Jeremiah Gillett may, however, claim without any doubt that they descend, somehow, from the Rev. Rector of Chaffcombe who died in 1641.

THE WILL OF DANIEL CLAPP OF POMFRET

This will dated 9 April 1818 (Pomfret, Conn., Probate Records 12: 441) is unusual in that it refers to silverware marked with initials. It bequeaths to sons Daniel and Joseph, equally, all Real Estate in the Town of Pomfret, Conn., they to pay all legacies hereafter specified. To son Daniel Clapp all real estate in the Town of Warwick, R.I. To Daniel Clapp one silver spoon marked "I.G. to M.G.," one marked "M.G.," one marked "Anna Green." To son Joseph Clapp a four-year-old horse, saddle, etc., one silver porringer marked "M.G.," three silver tablespoons marked "M.G." and six silver teaspoons marked "P.C." To To daughter Elizabeth Dennis one silver tablespoon marked "I.N." and "E.B.," also three likely sheep in the spring of the year after shearing; also money. To daughter Mary Baily one silver tablespoon marked "Mary Green," plus money, etc. To daughter Phebe Clapp household goods, money and right to live in "my now dwelling" until married. To daughter Anna Clapp same as sister Phebe above. Signed Daniel Clapp April 9, 1818; witnesses: Lem'l Ingols, Ebenezer Dresser, Avery Fisher. Proved 17 Aug. 1818.

Pomfret Cemetery records show in a Quaker Cemetery that Isabel Clapp, wife of Daniel, died 13 March 1818 aet. 60 years; Daniel Clapp died 25 July 1818 aet. 61 years.

Joy Road, Woodstock Hill, CT 06281 *Mrs. Eva Jane Prior*

ERRATA

TAG 56:114, l. 9 from bottom: read "of Joshua, and Sarah Jane Barker, wife of Jabez" etc. Same page, l. 6 from top: read "4 Dec." for "3 Dec." On p. 113, Gilbert H. White was great-great-grandson of Jonathan. Line 8 from bottom, delete one of the dates.

HENRY SAMPSON'S PATERNAL GRANDFATHER

BY ROBERT LEIGH WARD

In an earlier article (TAG 52:198-209) it was established that Henry[1] Sampson, *Mayflower* passenger, was baptized at Henlow, co. Bedford, on 15 Jan. 1603/4, son of James and Martha (Cooper) Sampson. More information on his maternal ancestry was given in that article, but no record of his father prior to his marriage at Henlow on 20 March 1599/1600 had been discovered.

Recently extracts of the parish register of Campton, co. Bedford, were examined, with the result that we can give the family group of John Sampson who, with high probability, was father of James and grandfather of Henry. The pertinent records are as follows:

Campton, co. Bedford

Baptisms

1571	30 March	John Samson
1574	20 June	James Samson
1576	23 Nov.	Laurence Samson
1578	21 Dec.	Thomas Samson
1580	27 Dec.	Jone Samson
1582	18 Feb.	Jane, daughter of John Samson
1584	11 Oct.	Francis, son of John Samson
1602	28 April	John, son of Laurence Samson
1604	11 Feb.	Thomas, son of Laurence Samson
1606	19 Oct.	George, son of Laurence Sampson
1609	1 Jan.	Laurence, son of Laurence Sampson
1611	15 Dec.	Francis, son of Laurence Sampson
1614	14 Aug.	Abraham, son of Laurence Sampson
1631	30 Jan.	Richard, son of George Sampson
1633	7 Dec.	Mary, daughter of George Sampson

Marriages

1605	19 July	Jane Sampson & Henry Dernelye
1629	8 Feb.	George Sampson & Judith Robinson
1620	28 Jan.	Mary Sampson & William Humfrye

Burials not examined

From other sources we can add the following:

Cranfield, co. Bedford

1601 2 June Lawrence Samson m. Mary Shabery

Stotfold, co. Bedford

1608 20 March Thomas, son of Francis Sampson, baptized

1607 10 May Francis Sampson m. Jane Lilly

1608 18 April Jane Sampson, wife of Francis, buried

Arlesey, co Bedford

1588 1 March Ales, daughter of John Samson, baptized

Note that Henlow, Campton, Stotfold and Arlesey are closely grouped in eastern Bedfordshire near the Hertfordshire border, while Cranfield is at the opposite end of the shire. On the basis of these records we tentatively, but with

wording of Samuel's will, however, designating "my loving cousin Thomas Cornell" and "my cousin George Cadman," seems to indicate a closer relationship with Thomas than with George.

Worthy of consideration at least is the possibility that George Cadman's mother Elizabeth, wife of William Cadman, may have been another daughter of John and Alice Strange. Little seems to have been written about the early history of the Strange family, and the absence of will for either John or Alice makes it difficult to identify possible daughters.

John Strange was born about 1613 and did not come to America until after the English civil war, in which he apparently lost an arm or leg or, perhaps, an eye. When the town of Portsmouth on "Election Day the 7th of June 1669" chose him constable, he declined the office, "pleasinge to the Towne to be Releassed from Serveing in that office Eleaginge that he Conceives him Selfe other-wise Excussed by Reason of the loss of one of his members in the warrs in England" (*Early Records of the Town of Portsmouth*, printed, p. 148).

John's brother, Lott Strange, whose wife was also named Alice (she was daughter of Anthony Paine), was in Portsmouth by 1649. He died leaving no children, and on 13 7 mo. 1683 John Strange signed an agreement, as his brother and heir, waiving his rights to any part of the estate, so that it might pass to Lott's widow Alice. In this document John stated that he took upon himself the responsibility for payment of any share of the estate which might belong to his sister in England or to his sister's children in England or elsewhere (Portsmouth Town Council 1:216). Austin quoted in *GDRI* a similar document but omitted this one mentioning the sister in England. John Strange signed each document that he executed with a strong mark: ✝

While it may not be possible to prove that Grissell Strange was the wife of Samuel Cornell, available evidence does seem to indicate that she was. If English records of the Strange family are ever found, they may tell whether there was a daughter Elizabeth who could have married William Cadman.

In any case, all those of us who are descended from Samuel[2] Cornell owe Prentiss Glazier a debt of gratitude for having noticed Grissell's name on a very obscure deed in Taunton.

Stonecleave Road, Boxford, MA 01921

QUERY

MERRIMAN: Want English antecedents of Nathaniel Merriman, b. ca. 1614, d. 13 Feb. 1693/4, Wallingford, CT.
--J. Bradley Arthaud, MD., 102 Lexington Square, Columbia, MO 65201

More on the Robert Hicks Ancestry: Clues to the Identity of his Spouse

BY R. G. RIDER

Quite firmly established is the fact that the Robert Hicks who was a fellmonger, or dealer in skins and furs, living in Bermondsey Street, Southwark, England ca. 1616, is identical with the Robert Hicks who emigrated to the Massachusetts Bay Colony on the *Fortune* which arrived in Plymouth 11 Nov. 1621 (L. Effingham DeForest and Anne Lawrence DeForest, *Moore and Allied Families: the Ancestry of William Henry Moore* (1938), pp. 295-308; Carl Boyer 3rd, *Ancestral Lines* (1975), pp. 149-151). But the oft-repeated statements concerning his knightly pedigree (*English Baronage*, Foster's ed., 1881, p. 311; Pittman, *Americans of Gentle Birth* 1:319), and which have him marry, first, Elizabeth, daughter of John Morgan of London in 1596 and, second, Margaret Winslow in 1610 (Cornelia Barlow Williams, *Ancestry of Lawrence Williams*, 1915, p. 96, one of the earliest references to the entire pedigree), would appear to have no foundation in proven fact. Indeed, the late Herbert F. Seversmith, in *Colonial Families of Long Island, New York, and New England*, 3:368-383, ably disproves this lineage, and Harriet W. Hodge, *Hicks (Hix) Families of Rehoboth and Swansea, Mass.*, 1976, likewise disclaims these assumed ascendants. No secondary sources of information regarding Robert Hicks even allude to original documentary evidence in support of this parentage or of these marriages, and an extensive search into the church records of various London and Worcester-area parishes has failed to produce the ultimate proof hoped for. However, there were Hickses in Bermondsey prior to the first mention of Robert Hicks upon the registers in 1603/4 when his son Thomas was baptized in the Church of St. Mary Magdalene on 19 Feb. (*The Genealogist* 9:207) and there does appear to be some evidence in support of at least one of the marriage allegations.

Although any connection between Robert Hicks and the following family has yet to be demonstrated, it should be noted that a Challenger Hickes was buried from the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey, on 26 Sept. 1563 (*ibid.* 6:46) and that a William Hickes married there on 26 Oct. 1587 Joane ----- (Copy register, Exeter, 1894, p. 106). This couple apparently had at least two children, viz. Christopher, bapt. 26 Oct. 1589 (*ibid.* p. 117) and William, bapt. 30 Jan. 1591, bur. 1 Feb. 1591 (*The Genealogist* 8:128 f.).

A list of the Hicks marriages from the original parish records of St. Saviour's, Southwark (1595-1669), the next parish after Bermondsey, with Bermondsey Street virtually separating the two, includes the following names:

15 Dec. 1595	Walter Hicks and Elizabeth Savage
4 Dec. 1603	John Hicks and ----- -----
10 Oct. 1628	James Hicks and Mary Rye

3 May	1629	Richard Hicks and R. Lowe
1 Feb.	1631	Samuel Hicks and Susan Cowhill
22 Dec.	1643	William Hicks and Sisley Knewell
5 Aug.	1645	Thomas Hicks and Elizabeth Fullham
25 May	1647	Richard Hicks and Anne How
30 Oct.	1662	Thomas Hicks of St. John Baptist and Anne Rainford of this parish
16 June	1667	Joseph Hicks and Susanna Blenkingsop
8 July	1669	Richard Hicks of this parish and Martha Appleton of St. Andrew Holborne

And there were Hickses in other nearby parishes as well: William Hickes and Katherine Fyeldes were married on 17 Feb. 1616/17 at St. Mary le Strand, London (*ibid.* 4:114).

The 1633 *Visitation of London* (Faringdon Without) in Harleian Society 15:38, lists the children and grandchildren of "Adam Hickes of Tansworth in co. Northampton" where, by the way, the names of William, Robert and Thomas occur in each generation. The coat of arms of this family (9 fleurs-de-lis between 2 pallets) suggests in variant form the arms of the Gloucestershire Hickses: a fesse wavy between 3 fleurs-de-lis (Harleian Soc. 21:80).

We do not wish to imply that Robert Hicks of Bermondsey and Plymouth was necessarily related to any of the above Hickses, However, their existence in the London area where Robert was living is worthy of note and would appear to have been overlooked by all previous searchers for the ancestors of Robert Hicks.

But what about Elizabeth Morgan and Margaret Winslow?

An Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Morgan, was baptized at St. Mary Magdalene's 19 Jan. 1583/4, but we have not found any marriage record for her, nor are there any marriage entries for Winslow or Robert Hicks in the same registers or in those of St. Saviour's, Southwark. A list of all the parish registers examined in this search has been appended.

Charles E. Banks, in the *English Ancestry and Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers* (1929), p. 119, mentions no wife other than Margaret. The DeForests thought the Morgan marriage may have occurred, but we must concur with Mr. Robert S. Wakefield ("The Children of Robert Hicks," TAG 51:58): there does not appear to be any evidence that Robert Hicks had a wife other than Margaret. Margaret Hicks reached Plymouth aboard the *Ann* in June 1622. The 1623 Pilgrim land division (*Mayflower Quarterly*, May 1974, 55-62) mentions her and she is named in Robert's will dated 28 May 1645 (*NEHGR* 4:282).

That Robert Hicks of Bermondsey married a Winslow can be deduced from other evidence. Let us look at the 1638 affidavit of Clement Briggs of New England (*Hist. of Scituate* 1831, p. 284):

> This deponent saith that about 22 years since, this deponent then dwelling with one Mr. Sam'l Lathame in Barmoundsey Street, in Southwarke, a felmonger, and one Thomas Harlow, then also dwelling with Mr. Robte Heekes, in the same street, a fellmonger, etc. ...

A Samuel Latham was hence living in the same street where Robert Hicks, leatherdresser, lived ca. 1616. Now it appears from Harleian Society 27:140 that a Katherine Walsh of Worcestershire had a sister Frances who was an ancestor of Thomas Latham of Hornchurch, Essex, possibly related to the aforesaid Samuel Latham. Katharine Walsh married Bernard Hampton (will proved 1572: PCC 33 Daper) who held the manor house of Twickenham, Middlesex. Lawrence Hampton of London held land there, too, and left 20 shillings to the poor of Twickenham under his will dated 1627 which was witnessed by Kenelm Winslow, brother of Edward and John (Henry F. Waters, *Gleanings* 2:876).

The Winslows also had interests in London, interests similar to, or in line with, those of Robert Hicks. On 4 Nov. 1594, Edward Winslow (father of Gov. Edward), yeoman farmer and salter of St. Peter's Manor, Droitwich, was married in St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, London, to Magdalene Ollyver. He also held real estate in the neighboring parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, Middlesex (see chancery proceedings for 1600). Being a salter, he would naturally have had business dealings with leatherdressers whose need for salt would be clear and if he did have a sister Margaret, she could have met Robert Hicks through this professional connection.

So far, we have suggested a few reasons the Winslows and Hickses might have known each other in London. That they were acquainted with each other in New England would appear to be borne out by at least two documents in which their names appear together: the passenger list of the *Fortune* shows Robert Hicks, John Winslow (brother of Governor Edward and Kenelm) and Clement Briggs arrived in New England aboard the same vessel. The will of Samuel Fuller of Plymouth in New England is dated 30 July 1633, probated 28 Oct. 1633, and was written by his brother-in-law, Gov. Edward Winslow, witnessed by John Winslow and Robert Hicks. "Joh. Winslow, Mrs. Heeks" are also mentioned in the body of the will.

The fact that the names of Robert Hicks and members of the immediate family of Gov. Edward Winslow occur thus together would seem to point to kinship, probably through Robert's wife Margaret whose associations likewise denote some relationship. [The population of Plymouth at this date was not so large that the Hicks and Winslow families would not necessarily be acquainted with each other, even if not related at all--Ed.]

The ancestors of Robert Hicks of Bermondsey and Plymouth may yet elude us, but we think that in the absence of evidence pointing elsewhere, they should be sought first in the city where Robert is known to have lived and where persons named Hicks were residing prior to the appearance of Robert in the parish registers of Bermondsey.

Doubtful it is that the record of marriage for Robert Hicks with either Elizabeth Morgan or Margaret, whoever she was, will ever be found. The records of the most likely place for that marriage, viz. the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, were examined first, since most of the couple's progeny were baptized in that parish; but this fact is no proof

whatever that Robert's marriage was solemnized anywhere near that parish church or, for that matter, within the city. In view of this, the registers of the other parish churches where Robert Hicks was most likely to have married have also been examined, to no avail, and it is feared that the record of the marriage may have been lost or destroyed.

It is to be hoped the information in this article will prove helpful to researchers on the Hicks, Morgan and Winslow families who may yet bring to light other clues, in the absence of proof, as to the identity of Robert Hicks' spouse or spouses, from heretofore unsuspected sources.

Parish Registers Searched

London

St. Andrew, Holborn, Middlesex. Edward Winslow Sr. had real estate interest in this parish temp. Elizabeth I.
St. Mildred, Bread Street, mar. reg. begins 1670. The Salters' Hall was in Bread Street
Allhallows-on-the-Wall: commence 1675
St. Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey:
Marr. April 1603 to Dec. 1642
Bur. March 1603-Dec. 1642 (original MS searched)
Boyd's Marriage Index

St. Bride, Fleet Street
Allhallows, Bread Street: church demolished 1876-7, parish amalgamated with St. Mary le Bow. Mar. regs. in Harl. Soc. 43.
Allhallows, Honey Lane: searched from 1546
St. Saviour's, Southwark Hicks marriages shown in text
Printed Index to Licenses issued by Bishop of London.

Worcester 1590-1620

St. Andrew's, begin 1754 Bishop's Transcripts 1612-1620, 1616 and 1618 missing
All Saints originals searched 1590-1620
St. Helen " " " "
St. Martin " " " "
St. Michael " " " "
St. Nicholas
St. Swithuns
St. Johns: This parish is outside the old city on the other bank of the Severn. Registers are available, not searched.

St. Albans: begin 1630 no BTs before 1634
St. Clements begin 1694. BTs searched 1608-1617, except 1610-11, 1619-20
St. Peter begin 1686; BTs for 1613 and 1617 only searched

12 Kensington Court, Delmar, N.Y. 12054

Nicholas Lobdell, Founder of the New England Lobdell Family

BY DOUGLAS RICHARDSON

To date the background and history of Nicholas Lobdell, an early settler of Hingham, Mass., has remained all but obscure. What few facts are known indicate that Lobdell emigrated from England in late 1635, and obtained a grant of land at Hingham, in 1636. By 4 Feb. 1636 he was already living at Hingham for on that date Nathaniel Peck a resident of Hingham, incurred a debt of £34 to him. In 1640, with John Mansfield, Nicholas "Lopdell" witnessed the will of Thomas Mussell, a seaman of Suffolk County, Mass. Although Hingham town records do not say so, it is known that Lobdell had a wife with him, for Hobart's Diary contains an entry which reads simply, "Goodman Lobdell's wife died March, 1641" (see *History of Hingham* 3:24). Aspinwall's Notarial Records establish that Lobdell was living at Hingham as late as 1648, for in that year "Nicholas Lobdell of Hingham" issued a letter of attorney to Richard Shelton to collect the debt due him from Nathaniel Peck "of Barbadoes or St. Christophers late of Hingham." After that, no further trace is found of Nicholas Lobdell in colonial records and it is presumed that he died soon afterwards at Hingham intestate.

In the 1650s an Isaac and a John Lobdell appear in Hingham records and most genealogists (including Julia Harrison Lobdell, author of the Lobdell Genealogy) have presumed that Isaac and John were sons of the earlier Nicholas Lobdell. Isaac and his wife, Martha, did name one of their sons Nicholas, and this fact, if nothing else, has provided circumstantial evidence that Isaac and John were sons of the immigrant, Nicholas Lobdell. By 1673 Isaac and John moved with their families to Hull, Mass., at which place John died in that year and Isaac in 1718.

A known contemporary of the two brothers was a Simon Lobdell who appeared in 1655 as a resident of Milford, Conn. In 1657 Simon took the freeman's oath at Hartford, Conn., and was recorded as a tax-payer there in 1667. From 1666 to 1674, he was the prison keeper at Springfield, Mass., but by 1677 he had returned with his family to Milford, Conn., where he remained until his death in 1717.

On the surface, there seems nothing that would connect Isaac and John Lobdell of Hull, Mass., with Simon Lobdell of Milford, Conn. However, the Lobdell Genealogy contains the curious statement that in 1682 Simon Lobdell had land interests in Hull, Mass., and, although this statement is not explained, there would seem little reason for Simon Lobdell to own land at Hull unless he had relatives in that town.

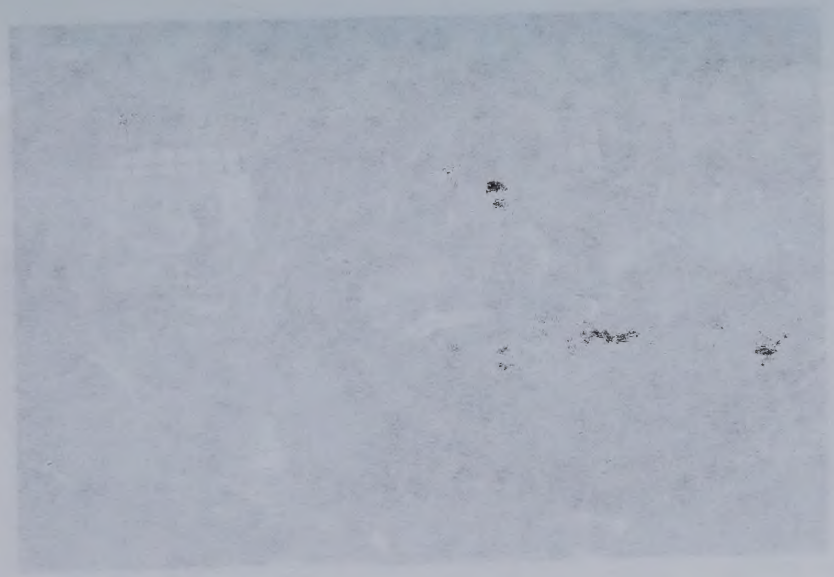
Genealogists generally credit Simon Lobdell with two sisters in the New World: Elizabeth Lobdell who married at Springfield, Mass., on 20 Oct. 1651, Jonathan Burt, and Ann Lobdell who married in the same town on 3 Jan. 1660/1, Samuel Terry. The husbands of both Elizabeth and Ann were prominent men

proached shore they saw Indians, who ran from them. They landed and made a temporary shelter, a "baricado" as they called it, for the first night. That night there was an alarm of an Indian attack but the small band was not troubled. The following morning came the cry: " 'They are men, Indians, Indians,' and withall, their arrowes came flying amongst us. . . . . The cry of our enemies was dreadfull." The Pilgrims were then divided but rallied and replied with fire, a fortunate shot wounding the leader of the Indians, upon which the savages retired. The Pilgrims gave a few parting shots and then gladly "tooke our Shallop and went on our Journey, and called this place 'The first Encounter.' " It was the first battle with the Indians in New England and has ever since been called "The First Encounter."

It will be generally remembered that the first winter in Plymouth was one to terrify all but the hardiest souls. "That which was most sadd & lamentable was, that in 2. or 3. moneths time halfe of their company dyed, espetialy in Jan: & February, being ye depth of winter, and wanting houses & other comforts; being infected with ye scurvie & other diseases, which this long vioage & their inacomodate condition had brought upon them; so as ther dyed some times 2. or 3. of a day, in ye foresaid time; that of 100. & odd persons, scarce 50. remained. And of these in ye time of most distres, ther was but 6. or 7. sound persons, who, to their great comendations be it spoken, spared no pains, night or day, but with abundance of toyle and hazard of their owne health, fetched them woode, made them fires, drest them meat, made their beads, washed their lothsome cloaths, cloathed & uncloathed them; in a word, did all ye homly & necessarie offices for them whch dainty & quesie stomacks cannot endure to hear named; and all this willingly & cherfully, without any grudging in ye least, showing herein their true love unto their friends & bretheren. A rare example & worthy to be remembred." Thus wrote William Bradford as an old man, but with his memories still fresh upon him.

Richard Warren lived through that dreadful first year, when fifty-three died out of the one hundred and three who had come ashore. His wife and infant children were fortunately not with him for few women and children survived even until the first spring. Warren, however, did not live long. In March of 1623 he received

THE SIGNING OF THE "MAYFLOWER" COMPACT
(Copyright by A. S. Burbank, Plymouth)



before a court on December 1, 1607. He failed to appear and was fined twenty pounds, which he was forced to pay. After this episode the group, according to Bradford, "resolved to go into the Low Countries, where, they heard, was freedom of religion for all men." By the end of September in 1607 Brewster had resigned his office as postmaster at Scrooby. It was not easy to get away, as has been often told. Brewster was one of those taken off a ship at Boston in Lincolnshire and put in jail, and he was one of the seven kept in prison for some time. Before he finally escaped Brewster was nearly impoverished. He reached Amsterdam in 1608, and there a church was organized, with John Robinson as pastor, and John Carver as deacon. This small religious community was moved to Leyden in Holland in April of 1609. About this time William Brewster was elected to the office of "Ruling Elder" of the church, an office he continued to hold in New England.

Brewster was very poor for a time in Holland but before long found ways to use his real abilities. He began to teach English, chiefly to the sons of Danes and Germans, and about 1616 he began a press. This famous printing establishment was continued for the twelve years spent in Holland, and the books recognized as outputs of this plant are now highly valued. Brewster published books in both Latin and English, not always putting his name on them. He fell into serious difficulties over the printing of Puritan pamphlets and the King of England instructed his Ambassador in Holland to press for Brewster's arrest. Brewster, by remaining in hiding, escaped. This was in 1619 and apparently Brewster spent some time in seclusion in England. The full story of Brewster and his companions in Holland has been too thoroughly covered by Dexter, Arber and Burgess for repetition here.

The steps leading to the voyage of the ship *Mayflower* and its famous passage to New England have been the subject of a great literature. It is sufficient to say here that William Brewster was the spiritual leader of that momentous adventure. He was not the pastor of the flock, even though Robinson had remained behind, but as the Senior Elder he represented the church and led the people not only by right but by the example of his own behavior. With him on this journey were his wife and his sons Love and Wrestling.

WILLIAM BREWSTER'S MANOR HOUSE AT SCROOBY
(Copyright by A. S. Burbank, Plymouth)

before a court on December 1, 1607. He failed to appear and was fined twenty pounds, which he was forced to pay. After this episode the group, according to Bradford, "resolved to go into the Low Countries, where, they heard, was freedom of religion for all men." By the end of September in 1607 Brewster had resigned his office as postmaster at Scrooby. It was not easy to get away, as has been often told. Brewster was one of those taken off a ship at Boston in Lincolnshire and put in jail, and he was one of the seven kept in prison for some time. Before he finally escaped Brewster was nearly impoverished. He reached Amsterdam in 1608, and there a church was organized, with John Robinson as pastor, and John Carver as deacon. This small religious community was moved to Leyden in Holland in April of 1609. About this time William Brewster was elected to the office of "Ruling Elder" of the church, an office he continued to hold in New England.

Brewster was very poor for a time in Holland but before long found ways to use his real abilities. He began to teach English, chiefly to the sons of Danes and Germans, and about 1616 he began a press. This famous printing establishment was continued for the twelve years spent in Holland, and the books recognized as outputs of this plant are now highly valued. Brewster published books in both Latin and English, not always putting his name on them. He fell into serious difficulties over the printing of Puritan pamphlets and the King of England instructed his Ambassador in Holland to press for Brewster's arrest. Brewster, by remaining in hiding, escaped. This was in 1619 and apparently Brewster spent some time in seclusion in England. The full story of Brewster and his companions in Holland has been too thoroughly covered by Dexter, Arber and Burgess for repetition here.

The steps leading to the voyage of the ship *Mayflower* and its famous passage to New England have been the subject of a great literature. It is sufficient to say here that William Brewster was the spiritual leader of that momentous adventure. He was not the pastor of the flock, even though Robinson had remained behind, but as the Senior Elder he represented the church and led the people not only by right but by the example of his own behavior. With him on this journey were his wife and his sons Love and Wrestling.

WILLIAM BREWSTER'S MANOR HOUSE AT SCROOBY
(Copyright by A. S. Burbank, Plymouth)

proached shore they saw Indians, who ran from them. They landed and made a temporary shelter, a "baricado" as they called it, for the first night. That night there was an alarm of an Indian attack but the small band was not troubled. The following morning came the cry: " 'They are men, Indians, Indians,' and withall, their arrowes came flying amongst us. . . . . The cry of our enemies was dreadfull." The Pilgrims were then divided but rallied and replied with fire, a fortunate shot wounding the leader of the Indians, upon which the savages retired. The Pilgrims gave a few parting shots and then gladly "tooke our Shallop and went on our Journey, and called this place 'The first Encounter.' " It was the first battle with the Indians in New England and has ever since been called "The First Encounter."

It will be generally remembered that the first winter in Plymouth was one to terrify all but the hardiest souls. "That which was most sadd & lamentable was, that in 2. or 3. moneths time halfe of their company dyed, espetialy in Jan: & February, being ye depth of winter, and wanting houses & other comforts; being infected with ye scurvie & other diseases, which this long vioage & their inacomodate condition had brought upon them; so as ther dyed some times 2. or 3. of a day, in ye foresaid time; that of 100. & odd persons, scarce 50. remained. And of these in ye time of most distres, ther was but 6. or 7. sound persons, who, to their great comendations be it spoken, spared no pains, night or day, but with abundance of toyle and hazard of their owne health, fetched them woode, made them fires, drest them meat, made their beads, washed their lothsome cloaths, cloathed & uncloathed them; in a word, did all ye homly & necessarie offices for them whch dainty & quesie stomacks cannot endure to hear named; and all this willingly & cherfully, without any grudging in ye least, showing herein their true love unto their friends & bretheren. A rare example & worthy to be remembred." Thus wrote William Bradford as an old man, but with his memories still fresh upon him.

Richard Warren lived through that dreadful first year, when fifty-three died out of the one hundred and three who had come ashore. His wife and infant children were fortunately not with him for few women and children survived even until the first spring. Warren, however, did not live long. In March of 1623 he received

THE SIGNING OF THE "MAYFLOWER" COMPACT
(Copyright by A. S. Burbank, Plymouth)

Mayflower Descendents and Their Marriages

For Two Generations After the Landing

Including

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE PILGRIM FOUNDERS OF NEW ENGLAND

Published by
BUREAU OF
MILITARY AND CIVIC ACHIEVEMENT
Washington, D. C.

SECOND EDITION
1922

Mayflower Descendents and Their Marriages

For Two Generations After the Landing

Including

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE PILGRIM FOUNDERS OF NEW ENGLAND

Published by
BUREAU OF
MILITARY AND CIVIC ACHIEVEMENT
Washington, D. C.

SECOND EDITION
1922

OLD AND NEW STYLE
OF RECKONING:

At the time of the landing of the Pilgrims the new year was reckoned as beginning on the 25th day of March. According to the new style of computation dates of records of those times between 1st January and 25th March should have one year added.

FOREWORD

The preparation of this booklet is the first instance, so far as known, wherein the data it contains have all been brought together within the covers of a single volume.

While the material appears scattered through famliy histories, published records and genealogical periodicals, it must be observed that its examination under that circumstance has been attended with the difficulty and inconvenience of consulting the different works and various volume-numbers of the periodicals. In view therefore of all the data having been brought together herein in a single booklet, the advantage of ready-reference afforded by the present "Mayflower Descendants and their Marriages for Two Generations" is fully apparent.

No claim is made for literary effort or original authorship, the work in the present instance being that of editing and arrangement of the data with a view to conciseness and ready reference.

For the assistance of those who may desire to extend their investigation beyond the two generations of children, the following reference-index is offered with acknowledgement to those authors who collected their information from original sources. The Compiler.

List of References

(Such data as are statistical, i. e. consisting merely of names, dates, etc., are necessarily repeated or duplicated in many of the respective publications in so far as the passengers and the first generation or so appear.)

New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Reg.
Savage's Gen. Dict.
Austin's Allied Families.
Spooner Memorial.
Winsor's Hist. Duxbury Mass.
Stile's Hist. of Windsor, Ct.
Wyman's Charlestown Mass. Gens.
N. Y. Gen. & Biog. Record.
Rogers Families of Plymouth.
Bass Family Hist.
Colonial Familiies of the U. S. of America.

Charlestown Gens. and Estates.
Aldrich's Hist. Windsor Ct.
Hist. New Bedford Mass.
Memorial of Wm. Spooner (—Thomas Spooner).
Huling's Ancestry of Alden Spooner.
New London Co. Hist. Colls.
Life of John Alden.
A Pilgrim Family (— Alden).
Ancestors of Isaac Alden and Irene Smith.
Elihib Alden's Ancestors.
Memorial of the Descendants of Isaac Alden (—Cunner).
Memorial of the Descendants of Hon. John Alden. (—E. Alden. M. D.)
Memorial of the Descendants of Wm. Bradford. (—Fessendon).
Pilgrim Rec. Society Bulletin.
Signers of the Mayflower Compact and their Descdts. (—Whittemore).
Gen. Rec. of the Bradfords, Fullers, Ellises.
Rec. of the Descdts of Wm. Brewster of the Mayflower. (—Jones).
The Doty— Doten Family (—Ethan Allen Doty).
A Mayflower line: Hopkins, Snow, Cook, Eldridge.
Davis' Landmarks of Plymouth.
Thayer Memorial.
Nat. Gen. Quarterly.
Boston Society of the Descdts. of John Howland Quarterly.
The Standishes of America.
Richard Warren and some of his Discds.
Descdts. of Edward Winslow (—Bryant).
Hinman's Ct. Settlers.
Swift's Barnstable Mass. Families.
Chipman's Family Lineage.
Haskell Family Hist.
The Mayflower Descendant Mag.
Mayflower Descdts. in Cape May Co. (— Howe).
Vinton's Giles, and the Gens. of Snow; Chandler; Hatch; Foster; Stoddard; Davis; White; Combs; Sherman; Bonney; Delano; Walker; Payne and Gore; Baxter; Sampson; Weston; Cushman; Spooner; Swift; Soule and Terry.

Ye Compacte
Signed in Ye Cabin of Ye Mayflower
Ye 11 of November
Anno Dominie 1620

In ye name of God, Amen.— We whofe names are underwrtitten, the loyall subjects of our dread and foveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, & Yreland king, defender of ye faith. &c., haveing undertaken for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour to our king and countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by thefe prefents solemnly and mutually in ye prefense of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourfelves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & prefervation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, conftitute, and frame fuch just & equall lawes, ordinances, Acts, conftitutions, & offices from time to time, as fhall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall goode of ye Colonie, unto which we promife all due submiffiion and obedience. Yn witnefs whereof we have hereunder subfcribed our names at Cap-Codd ye 11. of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, & Yreland ye eighteenth, and Scotland ye fiftie fourth, Ano: Dom. 1620.

John Carver	William Bradford
Edward Winflow	William Brewfter
Ifaac Allerton	Myles Standifh
John Alden	Samuel Fuller
Chriftopher Martin	William Mullins
William White	Richard Warren
John Howland	Stephen Hopkins
Edward Tilley	John Tilley
Francif Cooke	Thomas Rogers
Thomas Tinker	John Rigdale
Edward Fuller	John Turner
Francis Eaton	James Chilton
John Cracfton	John Billington
Mofes Fletcher	John Goodman
Degory Prieft	Thomas Williams
Gilbert Winflow	Edmond Margefon
Peter Brown	Richard Britterige
George Soule	Richard Clark
Richard Gardiner	John Allerton
Thomas Englifh	Edward Doty

Edward Leifter

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE PILGRIM FOUNDERS OF NEW ENGLAND

By John Tannehill Landis

Member of

New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.
American Historical Association.
California Genealogical Society
Baronial Order of Runnemede.
National Genealogical Society.
Maryland Historical Society.
Tennessee Historical Society.
Scions of Colonial Cavaliers.
Virginia Historical Society.
Military Order of Pulaski.
Order of the Yellow Rose.
Order of Washington.
Order of LaFayette.

The Reformation in the 16th Century set at liberty in the minds of men a great diversity of free-thought and action in religious affairs. A result was that the widely divergent views thus brought into existence chrystalized into settled opinions of doctrine that gave much difficulty, when, subsequently, it was sought for political reasons to form National Churches.

In the first phase of this great religious revolution England had broken away from the Church of Rome, under Henry VIII. This period, which has been called the negative, was followed by one more spiritual in the reign of Edward VI, becoming reactionary under Queen Mary, and finally resulting in the establishment of the Protestant Church of England under Queen Elizabeth.

Opposition to retaining the old time uniformity of faith and ordinances and the display of ceremonial, by those who held as a principle that there was nothing good in the ancient Church, and condemned any semblance of its practices as a relic of popery, had advanced to the point where severe strictures were placed by the au-

thorities on non-conformity with the tenets of the National Church of England.

The Rev. Joseph Hunter tells us in his "Collections Regarding the Congregation of Protestant Separatists," that England had at that time "many families who adhered in principle and in heart to the ancient, and then abrogated, system which was remembered by them with affectionate reverence touching its ceremonies and rituals." However the non-comformists separated into numerous independent bodies of Separatists, or Congregationalists, as they were called, and continued their efforts to exercise that freedom of conscience and simplicity of worship which they so stoutly advocated despite the "Acts of Royal Supremacy and Uniformity" issued in 1559, designed to enforce a uniformity of religious doctrine and modes of worship.

A subsequent split in the Separatists resulted in the Presbyterian and the Brownist Churches, from whom came the Pilgrim Fathers.

The Rev. Joseph Hunter says, further, "that besides being formed on the Scripture model, and that those who belonged to them escaped from the tyranny of the authorities in the English Church, they had two other advantages — facility in excluding immoral persons from church fellowship, and the liberty of making fresh changes in opinion or practice should fresh light break in upon them."

He tells us also that it was one of these Communities of Puritan Separatists, formed in the county village of Scrooby in North Nottinghamshire, that laid the foundation for New Plymouth, the parent colony of New England.

Resolving to seek in some other country that protection and toleration denied them at home, Holland, a country at no great distance, was settled upon by the Scrooby Congregation as a refuge where Protestantism in all its forms was tolerated. Some of their neighbors and friends, members of other Separatist Churches, had already set the example. So in the year 1608 expatriation was sought to be silently

effected. Owing to a law of the Crown intended to prevent subjects from going abroad, secret bargaining was made with the masters of two Dutch vessels for transportation to Holland. When upon the point of sailing, the authorities, who had been apprised of the embarkation through the perfidy of one of the Dutch masters, arrested the band of Separatists, many of whom were thrown in prison, including the leader Brewster.

Undismayed and through perseverance their efforts later were crowned with success, and by the end of the year most of the Congregation were in Amsterdam. After removing to Leyden where they remained till 1620, circumstances induced the desire to live again under the government of their native country reserving only the right of free thought and action in religious affairs.

The Congregation entered into negotiations with Sir Edwin Sandys, Treasurer of the Virginia Company that was attempting to establish a Colony in Virginia. Through his instrumentality and his friendship for Brewster arrangements were made and the first contingent set sail from Southampton in the "Mayflower" on the 5th day of August, 1620. After a tempestuous voyage the white sand cliffs of Cape Cod were rounded in the morning of Saturday, the 11th day of the following November, when at last anchor was cast in the bay on the western side of the Cape.

Other members of the Congregation embarked in following years in the "Fortune" and the "Anne".

THE MAYFLOWER PASSENGERS THEIR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN

There were 104 passengers, including men, women, and children, of whom 24 were heads of families. Two of these left only a daughter each, who married into one of the other families, thus leaving 22 from whom descent is traced without duplication of ancestors, as follows, viz:

JOHN ALDEN:

I — Elizabeth b. 1623 or 1624, d. May 31, 1717; m. William Pabodie, b. 1620, d. Dec. 13, 1707, and had,

1. JOHN, b. Oct. 4, 1645; d. unm. Nov. 17, 1669.
2. ELIZABETH, b. April 24, 1647; m. John Rogers.
3. MARY, b. Aug. 7, 1648; m. Edward Southworth.
4. MERCY, b. Jan. 2, 1649; m. John Simmons.
5. MARTHA, b. Feb. 24, 1650; m. 1st, Samuel Seabury; m. 2nd, William Fobes.
6. PRISCILLA, b. Nov. 16, 1652; d. y.
7. PRISCILLA, b. Jan. 15, 1653-4; m. Ichabod Wiswall.
8. SARAH, b. Aug. 7, 1656; m. John Coe.
9. RUTH, b. June 27, 1658; m. Benjamin Bartlett.
10. REBECCA, b. Oct. 16, 1660; m. William Southworth.
11. HANNAH, b. Oct. 15, 1662; m. Samuel Bartlett.
12. WILLIAM, b. Nov. 24, 1664; m. 1st, Judith ——; m. 2nd, Mary (Morgan) Starr.
13. LYDIA, b. April 3, 1667; m. Daniel Grinnell.

II — John, b. 1626, d. March 14, 1701-2; m. 1st, before 1659, Elizabeth ——; m. 2nd, April 1, 1660, Elizabeth (Phillips) Everill, d. 1695-6, and had,

14. MARY, b. Dec. 17, 1659; prob. d. y.

15. JOHN, b. Nov. 20, 1660; d. y.
16. ELIZABETH, b. May 9, 1662; d. July 14, 1662.
17. JOHN, b. March 12, 1663; m. 1st, Elizabeth Phelps (?) m. 2nd, Susanna Winslow.
18. WILLIAM, b. March 10, 1664; d. y.
19. ZACHARIAH, b. March 8, 1667; d. y.
20. WILLIAM, b. Sept. 10, 1669; m. Mary Drury.
21. NATHANIEL, b. ——, 1670; m. Hepzibah Mountjoy.
22. ZACHARIAH, b. Feb. 18, 1673; m. Mary Viall.
23. NATHAN, b. Oct. 17, 1677; d. y.
24. SARAH, b. Sept. 27, 1681; d. y.
25. ELIZABETH, b, ——; m. 1st, John Whalley; m. 2nd, Simon Willard.

III — Joseph, b. 1627, d. Feb. 8, 1696-7; m. Mary, dau. Moses Simmons, and had,

26. ISAAC, b.——; m. Mehitabel Allen.
27. JOSEPH, b. about 1667; d. 1747; m. 1690 Hannah, dau. Daniel Dunham; d. 1748, ae. 78.
28. MERCY, b. ——; m. John Burrill.
29. JOHN, b. ——, 1674; m. Hannah White.
30. ELIZABETH, b. ——; m. Benjamin Snow.
31. HOPESTILL, b. ——; m. Joseph Snow.

IV— Sarah, b. 1629; m., as his first wife, Alexander, son of Myles Standish. (Issue; see Standish family).

V — Jonathan, b. 1632-3, d. Feb. 14, 1697; m. 10 Dec. 1672, Abigail Hallett, b. 1644, d. Aug. 17, 1725, and had,

32. JOHN, b. ——; m. Hannah Briggs.
33. ELIZABETH, b. ——; m. Edmund Chandler.

34. SARAH, b. ——;
m. Thomas Southworth.
35. JONATHAN, b. March 1686;
m. 1st., Jan. 17, 1718, Elizabeth (Arnold) Waterman;
m. 2nd, prob. Mehitabel Allen.
36. ANDREW, b. ——;
m. Lydia Stanford.
37. A daughter, b.——;
perhaps m. a Simmons.

VI — Ruth, b. 1634-5, d. Oct. 12, 1674; m. Feb. 3, 1657-8, as his first wife, John Bass, b. about 1632, d. Sept. 12, 1716, (he m. 2nd Mrs. Hannah Sturtevant) and had,
38. JOHN, b. Nov. 26, 1658;
m. 1st, Abigail Adams;
m. 2nd, Rebecca Savill.
39. SAMUEL, b. March 25, 1660;
m. 1st, Mercy Marsh;
m. 2nd, Mary Adams;
m. 3rd, Bethiah Nightingale.
40. RUTH, b. Jan. 28, 1662-3;
m. Peter Webb.
41. JOSEPH, b. Dec. 5, 1665;
m. 1st, Miss Belcher;
m. 2nd, Lois Rogers.
42. HANNAH, b. June 22, 1667;
d. 24 Oct, 1705;
m. Joseph Adams; b. 24 Oct., 1654.
43. MARY, b. Feb. 11, 1669-70;
m. 1st, Christopher Webb;
m. 2nd, William Copeland.
44. SARAH, b. March 29, 1672;
m. Ephraim Thayer.

VII — Zachariah, b. about 1641. This Zachariah was probably a son of John Alden, although not positively proved, and in the settlement of John Alden's estate he does not appear. He had the following children:
45. ANNA, b. ——;
m. Josiah Snell.
46. ZACHARIAH, b. ——;
47. JOHN (uncertain).

VIII — Mary, b. 1643, d. before Oct. 24, 1699; m., 1667, Thomas Delano, b.

March 21, 1642, d. between Oct. 5, 1722 and April 22, 1723, and had,

48. BENONI, b. Oct. 30, 1667.
49. THOMAS, b. ——;
    m. Hannah Bartlett.
50. JONATHAN, b. 1676;
    m. Hannah Doty.
51. DAVID ,bapt. 1678;
    m. Elizabeth Eddy.
52. MARY, (was living in 1722).
53. SARAH, b. ——;
    m. John Drew.
54. RUTH, b. ——;
    m. Samuel Drew.
55. JOSEPH, b. Sept. 1, 1685;
    m. Hannah ——.

IX— David, b. 1646, d. before May 20, 1719; m. not later than 1670, Mary dau. of Constant, Southworth, and had,

56. HENRY, b. about 1671;
    m. Deborah (perhaps Streeter)
57. RUTH, b. about 1674;
    m. Samuel Sprague.
58. ELIZABETH, b. about 1677;
    m. John Seabury.
59. PRISCILLA, b. 1679;
    m. Samuel Cheesebrough.
60. BENJAMIN, b. ——;
    m. Hannah Brewster.
61. ALICE, b. about 1685;
    m. Judah Paddock.
62. SAMUEL, b. about 1689;
    m. Sarah Sprague.

* * * * * * *

ISAAC ALLERTON:

I — Remember, b. 1614; m. before May 6, 1635, Moses Maverick, who d. (after having m. 2nd Mrs. Eunice Roberts) January 28, 1685-6, and had,

1. REBECCA, bap. about Aug. 7, 1639; m. John Hawks.
2. MARY, bap. Feb. 14, 1641; d. ae. 15.
3. ABIGAIL, bap. Jan. 12, 1645; m. Samuel Ward.
4. ELIZABETH, bap. Dec. 3, 1646; d. y.

5. SAMUEL, bap. Dec. 19, 1647.
6. ELIZABETH, bap. Sept. 30, 1649;
m. 1st, Nathaniel Grafton,
m. 2nd, Thomas Skinner.
7. REMEMBER, b. Sept. 12, 1652; m. Edward Woodman.

II — Mary, b. June 1616, d. Dec. 8, 1699; m. in 1635 or 1636 Thomas Cushman; b. Feb. 1608, d. Dec. 1691, and had,

8. THOMAS, b. Sept. 16, 1637;
m. 1st, Ruth Howland,
m. 2nd, Abigail Fuller.
9. SARAH, b. ——;
m. John Hawks (his first wife was her cousin, Rebecca Maverick, q. v.)
10. LYDIA, b. ——;
m. William Harlow.
11. ISAAC, b. Feb. 8, 1647-8;
m. Rebecca Rickard.
12. ELKANAH, b. June 1, 1651;
m. 1st, Elizabeth Cole,
m. 2nd, Martha Cooke.
13. FEAR, b. June 20, 1653; d. y.
14. ELEAZER, b. Feb. 20, 1656-7;
m. Elizabeth Coombs.
15. MARY, b. ——;
m. —— Hutchinson.

III — Isaac, b. about 1630, d. 1702; m. 1st, about 1652, Elizabeth ——, d. about 1660; m. 2nd, Elizabeth (Willoughby) Colclough, about 1663, and had,

16. ELIZABETH, b. Sept. 27, 1653; m. 1st, Benjamin Starr,
m. 2nd, Simon Eyres.
17. ISAAC, b. June 11, 1655; m.
18. SARAH, b. about 1670;
m. Hancock Lee.
10. A daughter, b. ——;
m. —— Newton, of Va.
20. FRANCES, b. ——;
m. Samuel Travers.
21. WILLOUGHBY, b. ——;
m. Hannah Keene (Bushrod.)

* * * * * * *

JOHN BILLINGTON:

I — Francis, b. about 1606, d. Dec. 3, 1684; m. July, 1634, Christian (Penn) widow of Francis Eaton, The Pilgrim, d. July, 1684, and had,

1. MARTHA, b. ——; m. Jan. 10, 1660, Samuel Eaton.
2. ELIZABETH, b. ——; m. Richard Bullock.
3. REBECCA, b. June 8, 1647.
4. MARY, b. ——; m. Samuel Sabin.
5. ISAAC, b. ——; m. Hannah Glass.
6. MERCY, b. ——; m. John Martin.
7. DESIRE, b. ——;
8. JOSEPH, b. ——;
9. FRANCIS, b. ——; m. Abigail Churchill.

* * * * * *

WILLIAM BRADFORD:

I — William, b. June 17, 1624, d. Feb. 20, 1703-4; m. 1st, Alice, dau. of Thomas Richards, b. 1627, d. Dec. 12, 1671; m. 2nd, Mrs. —— Wiswall; m. 3rd, Mrs. Mary Holmes, d. Jan. 6, 1714-15.

Children by first wife:

1. JOHN, b. Feb. 20, 1651-2; m. Mercy Warren.
2. WILLIAM, b. March 11, 1654-5; m. Rebecca Bartlett.
3. THOMAS, b. about 1656; m. Ann Smith.
4. ALICE, b. about 1658; m. 1st, William Adams, m. 2nd, James Fitch.
5. MERCY, b. Sept. 2, 1660; m. Samuel Steele.
6. HANNAH, b. May 9, 1662; m. Josiah Ripley.
7. MELATIAH, b. about 1664; m. 1st, John Steele, m. 2nd, Samuel Stevens.
8. SAMUEL, b. ——, 1668; m. Hannah Rogers.

9. MARY, bapt. 1669;
m. William Hunt.

10. SARAH, b. ——, 1671;
m. Kenelm Baker.

Child by second wife,

11. JOSEPH, b. 1674;
m. 1st, Anna Fitch,
m. 2nd, Mrs. Mary Fitch.

Children by third wife,

12. ISRAEL, b. about 1678;
m. Sarah Bartlett.

13. EPHRAIM, b. 1680;
m. Elizabeth Brewster.

14. DAVID, b. ——;
m. Elizabeth Finney.

15. HEZEKIAH, b. ——;
m. Mary Chandler.

II — Joseph, b. about 1630; d. July 10, 1715; m. May 25, 1664, Jael, dau. of Peter Hobart, bapt. Dec. 30, 1643, d. April 14, 1730, and had,

16. ELISHA, b. ——;
m. 1st, Hannah Cole,
m. 2nd, Bathsheba LaBrocke.

17. JOSEPH, b. ——;

* * * * * * * *

WILLIAM BREWSTER:

I — Jonathan, b. Aug. 12, 1593, d. Aug. 7, 1659; m. April 10, 1624, Lucretia Oldham, d. March 4, 1678-9, and had,

1. WILLIAM, b. March 9, 1625;
probably went to England.

2. MARY, b. April 16, 1627;
m. John Turner

3. JONATHAN, b. July 17, 1629;
probably went to England.

4. RUTH, b. Oct. 3, 1631;
m. 1st, John Pickett,
m. 2nd, Charles Hill.

5. BENJAMIN, b. Nov. 17, 1633;
m. Anne Dart.

6. ELIZABETH, b. May 1, 1637;
m. 1st, Peter Bradley,
m. 2nd, Christopher Christophers.

7. GRACE, b. Nov. 1, 1639;
m. Daniel Wetherell.

8. HANNAH, b. Nov. 3, 1641;
m. Samuel Starr.

II — Patience, d. 1634; m. Aug. 5, 1624 Thomas Prence, d. March 29, 1673, and had,

9. THOMAS, b. ——;
went to England.
10. REBECCA, b. ——;
m. Edmond Freeman.
11. HANNAH, b. ——;
m. 1st, Nathaniel Mayo,
m. 2nd, Jonathan Sparrow.
12. MERCY, b. ——;
m. John Freeman.

III — Fear, d. Dec. 12, 1634; m. as his second wife, Isaac Allerton, The Pilgrim, and had,

ISAAC, b. about 1630.
(Issue; see Allerton famliy.)

IV — Love, d. 1650-51; m. May 15, 1634, Sarah Collier, d. April 26, 1691, and had,

13. SARAH, b. ——;
m. Benjamin Bartlett.
14. NATHANIEL, b. ——;
m. Sarah (prob. North).
15. WILLIAM, b. ——;
m. Lydia Partridge.
16. WRESTLING, b. ——;
m. Mary ——.

* * * * * * * *

PETER BROWN:

I — Mary, m. Ephraim Tinkham; he d. between Jan. 17, 1683 and May 20, 1685, and had,

1. EPHRAIM, b. Aug. 5, 1649;
m. Esther Wright.
2. EBENEZER, b. Sept. 30, 1651;
m. Elizabeth Burroughs.
3. PETER, b. Dec. 25, 1653;
m. Mercy Mendhall.
4. HEZEKIAH, b. Feb. 8, 1655-6;
m. Ruth ——.
5. JOHN, m. June 7, 1658; d. y.
6. MARY, b. Aug. 5, 1661;
m. John Thompson.
7. JOHN, b. Nov. 15, 1663;
m. Sarah ——.

8. ISAAC, b. April 11, 1666;
m. Sarah King.

II — Rebecca, m. William Snow, and had

9. WILLIAM, b.——;
m. Naomi Whitman.
10. JAMES, b. ——; d. 1690.
11. JOSEPH, b. ——;
m. Hopestill Alden.
12. BENJAMIN, b. ——;
m. 1st, Elizabeth Alden,
m. 2nd, Sarah (Allen) Cary.
13. MARY, b. ——;
14. LYDIA, b. ——;
15. HANNAH, b. ——;
m. Giles Rickard.
16. REBECCA, b. ——;
m. Samuel Rickard.

* * * * * * * *

JAMES CHILTON:

I — Mary, d. 1679; m. Oct. 12, 1624, John Winslow, b. April 16, 1597, d. 1674, and had,

1. SUSANNA, b. ——;
m. Robert Latham.
2. MARY, b. ——;
m. Edward Gray.
3. EDWARD, b. ——;
m. 1st, Sarah Hilton,
m. 2nd, Elizabeth Hutchinson.
4. SARAH, b. ——;
m. 1st, Miles Standish,
m. 2nd, Tobias Payne,
m. 3rd, Richard Middlecot.
5. JOHN, b. ——;
m. 1st, Elizabeth ——;
m. 2nd, Judith ——.
6. JOSEPH, b. ——;
m. Sarah Lawrence.
7. SAMUEL, b. ——;
m. Hannah Briggs.
8. ISAAC, b. ——;
m. Mary Nowell.
9. ANNE, b. ——;
m. —— LeBlond.
10. BENJAMIN, b. Aug. 12, 1653;
prob. d. y.

II — Isabella, m. July 21, 1615, Roger Chandler, in Holland. They are said to have come over and settled in Duxbury, Mass.

* * * * * * *

FRANCIS COOKE:

I — John, d. Nov. 23, 1695; m. July 6, 1634, Sarah, dau. of Richard Warren, The Pilgrim, and had,

1. SARAH, b. —— 1635; m. Arthur Hathaway.
2. JOHN, b. ——.
3. ELIZABETH, b. ——; m. Daniel Wilcox.
4. ESTHER, b. Aug. 16, 1650; m. Thomas Taber.
5. MARY, b. Jan. 12, 1652; m. Philip Taber.
6. MERCY, b. July 25, 1655; m. Stephen West.

II — Jacob, b. about 1618, d. Dec. 1675; m. 1st, Damaris, dau. of Stephen Hopkins, the Pilgrim, 1646; m. 2nd, Elizabeth (Lettice) Shurtleff, Nov. 18, 1669, and had,

7. ELIZABETH, b. Jan. 18, 1648-9; m. John Doty.
8. CALEB, b. March 29, 1651; m. Jane ——.
9. JACOB, b. March 23, 1653; m. Lydia Miller.
10. MARY, b. Jan. 12, 1657-8; m. John Rickard.
11. MARTHA, b. March 16, 1659-60; m. Elkanah Cushman.
12. FRANCIS, b. Jan. 5, 1662-3; m. Elizabeth Latham.
13. RUTH, b. Jan. 17, 1665-6.
14. SARAH, b. —— 1670 or 1671; m. Robert Bartlett.

III — Hester, m. Nov. 21, 1644, Richard Wright who d. June 9, 1691, and had,

15. ADAM, b. about 1645; m. 1st, Sarah Soule, m. 2nd, Mehitabel Barrows.
16. ESTHER, b. 1649; m. Ephraim Tinkham.

17. MARY, b. ——;
m. —— Price.

18. JOHN, b. ——;
prob. d. y.

19. Isaac, prob .d. y.

IV — Jane, d. prior to June 8, 1666; m. 1627 or 1628, Experience Mitchell, d. 1689, and had,

20. ELIZABETH, m. John Washburn.

21. THOMAS, prob d. y.

22. MARY, m. James Shaw.

23. EDWARD, m. 1st, Mary Hayward, m. 2nd, Alice Bradford.

24. SARAH, m. John Hayward.

25. JACOB, b. 1645;
m. Susannah Pope.

26. JOHN, m. 1st, Mary Bonney,
m. 2nd, Mary Lothrop,
m. 3rd, Mary Prior.

27. HANNAH, m. Joseph Hayward.

V — Mary, d. March 21, 1714; m. Dec. 26, 1643, John Thompson, d. June 16, 1696, and had,

28. ADAM, b. ——; d. y.

29. JOHN, b. Nov. 24, 1649;
m. Mary Tinkham.

30. MARY, b. ——;
m. Thomas Taber.

31. ESTHER, b. July 28, 1652;
m. William Reed.

32. ELIZABETH, b. Jan. 28, 1654;
m. William Swift.

38. SARAH, b. April 7, 1657.

34. LYDIA, b. Oct. 5, 1659;
m. James Soule.

35. JACOB, b. April 24, 1662;
m. Abigail Wadsworth.

36. THOMAS, b. Oct. 19, 1664;
m. Mary Morton.

37. PETER, b. ——;
m. Sarah Wood.

38. MERCY, b. ——, 1671;
d. April 19, 1756, unm.

* * * * * * *

EDWARD DOTY:

I — Edward, d. Feb. 8, 1689-90; m. Feb. 25, 1662-3, Sarah Faunce, (she m. 2nd April 26, 1693, John Buck, and d. June 27, 1695), and had,

1. EDWARD, b. May 20, 1664; prob. d. between 1690 and 1696.
2. SARAH, b. June 9, 1666; m. 1st, James Warren, m. 2nd, John Bacon.
3. JOHN, b. Aug. 4, 1668; drowned Feb. 8, 1689-90.
4. MARTHA, b. July 9, 1671; m. Thomas Morton.
5. MARY, b. July 9, 1671; m. Joseph Allyn.
6. ELIZABETH, b. Dec. 22, 1673; m. Tobias Oakman.
7. PATIENCE, b. July 7, 1676; d. Feb. 28, 1690-91.
8. MERCY, b. Feb. 6, 1678; d. Nov. 30, 1682.
9. SAMUEL, b. May 17, 1681; m. Anne Buckingham.
10. MERCY, b. Sept. 23, 1684; m. Daniel Pratt.
11. BENJAMIN, b. May 30, 1689. m. Hester Bemen.

II — John, d. May 8, 1701; m. 1667, Elizabeth Cooke, b. Jan. 18, 1648-9, d. Nov. 21, 1692; m. 2nd Sarah Jones, and had,

12. JOHN, b. August 24, 1668; m. 1st, Mehitabel Nelson, m. 2nd, Hannah Sherman.
13. EDWARD, b. June 28, 1671; prob. d. y.
14. JACOB, b. May 27, 1673; prob. d. y.
15. ELIZABETH, b. Feb. 10, 1675-6; m. Joshua Morse.
16. ISAAC, b. Oct. 25, 1678; m. Martha Faunce.
17. SAMUEL, b. Jan. 31, 1682-3; m. Mercy Cobb.
18. ELISHA, b. July 13, 1686; m. Hannah ——.

19. JOSIAH, b. Oct. 1689; m. Abigail ——.
20. MARTHA, b. Oct. 1692; m. Ebenezer Curtis.
21. SARAH, b. Feb. 19, 1695-6.
22. PATIENCE, b. July 3, 1697; m. Kenelm Baker.
23. DESIRE, b. April 19, 1699; m. George Barrows.

III — Thomas, d. 1679; m. 1st Mary Churchill, m. 2nd Mary ——, and had,

24. MARTHA, b. ——, 1672.
25. HANNAH, b. Dec. 1675; m. Jonathan Delano.
26. THOMAS, b. July 22, 1679; m. 1st, Elizabeth Harlow, m. 2nd, Mercy Ellis.

IV — Samuel, d. 1715; m. Nov. 15, 1678, Jane Harmon, and had,

27. SAMUEL, b. Aug. 27, 1679; m. Elizabeth Hull.
28. SARAH, b. March 2, 1681.
29. JOHN, b. ——; (uncertain).
30. ISAAC, b. Aug. 12, 1682; m. Frances ——.
31. EDWARD, b. May 14, 1685; m. Sarah ——.
32. JAMES, b. Sept. 17, 1686; m. Phebe Slater.
33. JONATHAN, b. Feb. 24, 1687-8; m. Mary ——.
34. BENJAMIN, b. May 14, 1691; prob. m. Abigail Whitehead.
35. ELIZABETH, b. Feb. 26, 1695; m. David Martin.
36. JOSEPH, b. Oct. 30, 1696; m. Sarah Badgly.
37. DANIEL, b. March 9, 1701-2.
38. MARGARET, b. March 5, 1704-5.
39. NATHANIEL, b. prob. about 1707-8; m. ——.

V — Desire, d. Jan. 1731; m. 1st, Dec. 25, 1667, William Sherman, b. about 1644, d. Oct. 25, 1679; m. 2nd, Nov. 24, 1681, Israel Holmes, d. Feb. 24, 1684-5; m. 3rd, Alexander Standish, and had

40. HANNAH SHERMAN, b. Feb. 21, 1668; m. William Ring.
41. ELIZABETH SHERMAN, b. March 11, 1670; d. 1695; prob. unm.
42. WILLIAM SHERMAN, b. April 19, 1672; m. Mary White.
43. PATIENCE SHERMAN, b. Aug. 3, 1674.
44. EXPERIENCE SHERMAN, b. Sept. 22, 1678; m. Miles Standish.
45. EBENEZER SHERMAN, b. April 21, 1680; m. 1st, Margaret Decrow; m. 2nd, Bathsheba Ford.
46. ISRAEL HOLMES, b. Feb. 17, 1682-3; m. Elizabeth Turner.
47. JOHN HOLMES, b. Jan. 15, 1684-5; m. 1st, Joanna Sprague; M. 2nd, Sarah Thomas.
48. DESIRE STANDISH, b. May 5, 1689; m. Nathan Weston.
49. THOMAS STANDISH, b. Jan. 29, 1690; m. Mary Carver.
50. ICHABOD STANDISH, b. June 10, 1693; m. Phebe Ring.

VI — Elizabeth, m. Jan. 13, 1674-5, John Rouse b. 1643, d. Oct., 1717, and had,

51. JOHN, b. ——, 1678; d. May 26, 1704.

VII — Isaac, m. Elizabeth England, and had,

52. ISAAC, b. about 1672; m. Elizabeth Jackson.
53. JOSEPH, b. about 1680; m. Sarah ——.
54. JACOB, b. about 1682; m. Penelope Albertson.
55. SOLOMON, b. about 1691; m. Rachel Seaman.
56. JAMES, b. Dec. 21, 1693; m. Catherine Latting.
57. SAMUEL, b. about 1695; m. Charity Mudge.

VIII — Joseph, d. about 1732-5; m. 1st, probably Deborah (perhaps Ellis)

d. June 21, 1711; m. 2nd, March 9, 1712, Sarah Edwards. He had,

58. THEOPHILUS, b. 1674; m. Ruth —— (probably Mendall).
59. ELIZABETH, b. 1678-9; m. John Lewis.
60. ELLIS, b. 1681; m. Elinor ——.
61. JOSEPH, b. March 31, 1683; m. Hannah Edwards.
62. DEBORAH, b. March 31, 1685; m. Joseph Landers.
63. JOHN, b. March 1, 1688; m. Elizabeth ——.
64. MERCY, b. Jan. 12, 1691.
65. FAITH, b. Jan. 18, 1696; m. Jonathan Shaw.
66. MARY, b. July 28, 1699; m. Samuel Waterman.

IX — Mary, m. Samuel Hatch, b. Dec. 22, 1653, d. about 1735, and had,

67. SAMUEL, b. Nov. 10, 1678; m. Elizabeth Oldham.
68. JOSIAH, b. May 30, 1680; m. Desire Hawes.
69. HANNAH, b. Feb. 15, 1681-2.
70. EBENEZER, b. April 6, 1684; m. ——.
71. ISAAC, b. Dec. 20, 1687; m.——.
72. ELIZABETH, b. June 16, 1690; m. John Bonney.
73. ELISHA, b. Nov. 7, 1692; m. Patience Keen.
74. EZEKIEL, b. May 14, 1695; m. Ruth Church.
75. DESIRE, b. Sept. 25, 1698; prob. m. Joseph Lovell.

FRANCIS EATON:

I — Samuel, d. about 1684; m. 1st, Elizabeth ——; m. 2nd, Jan. 10, 1660, Martha Billington, and had,

6. SARAH, b. ——; m. Philip Bumpas.
2. MERCY, b. ——; m. Samuel Fuller.
3. SAMUEL, b. ——; m. Elizabeth Fuller.

II — Rachel, m. March 2, 1645, Joseph Ramsden, d. May 25, 1674, and had,
4. DANIEL, b. Sept. 14, 1649, and perhaps others.

III — Benjamin, d. Jan. 16, 1711-12; m. Dec. 4, 1660, Sarah Hoskins. b. Sept. 16, 1636, and had,
5. WILLIAM, b. ——; no issue.
6. BENJAMIN, b. 1664; m. 1st, Mary Coombs, m. 2nd, Susanna Beal.
7. REBECCA, b. ——; m. Josiah Rickard.
8. EBENEZER, b.——; m. Hannah Rickard.

* * * * * *

EDWARD FULLER:

I — Samuel, d. Oct. 31, 1683; m. April 8, 1635, Jane Lothrop b. 1614, who d. before her husband, and had,
1. HANNAH, b. ——; m. Nicholas Bonham.
2. SAMUEL, bapt. Feb. 11, 1637-8, m. Anne Fuller.
3. ELIZABETH, b. ——; m. Joseph (?) Taylor.
4. SARAH, bapt. Aug. 1, 1641; d. y.
5. MARY, b. June 16, 1644; m. Joseph Williams.
6. THOMAS, b. March 18, 1651; d. y.
7. SARAH, b. Dec. 10, 1654; m. John Crowell.
8. JOHN, b. about 1656; m. Mehitabel Rowley.
9. A child, b. Feb. 8, 1658; d. y.

* * * * * *

SAMUEL FULLER:

I — Samuel, d. Aug. 17, 1695; m. Elizabeth ——; m. 2nd, Elizabeth, widow of Thos. Bowen, and had,
1. MERCY, b. ——; m. Daniel Cole.
2. SAMUEL, b. 1659; m. Mercy Eaton.
3. EXPERIENCE, b. about 1661; m. James Wood.

4. JOHN, b. 1663;
m. Mercy Nelson.
5. ELIZABETH, b. 1666;
m. Samuel Eaton.
6. HANNAH, b. 1668;
m. Eleazer Lewis.
7. ISAAC, b. 1675;
m. Mary Pratt.

* * * * * * *

STEPHEN HOPKINS:

I — Giles, d. about 1690; m. Oct. 9, 1639, Catherine Wheldon, and had,
1. MARY, b. Nov. 1640;
m. Samuel Smith.
2. STEPHEN, b. Sept. 1642;
m. 1st, Mary Merrick;
m. 2nd, Bethiah Atkins.
3. JOHN, b. 1643; d. y.
4. ABIGAIL, b. Oct. 1644;
m. William Merrick.
5. DEBORAH, b. June, 1648;
m. Josiah Cooke.
6. CALEB, b. Jan. 1650-1;
m. Mary Williams.
7. RUTH, b. June, 1653;
m. Samuel Mayo.
8. JOSHUA, b. June, 1657;
m. Mary Cole.
9. WILLIAM, b. Jan. 9, 1660-1;
d. unm.
10. ELIZABETH, b. Nov. 1664;
d. y.

II — Constance, d. Oct. 1677; m. 1627, Nicholas Snow, d. Nov. 15, 1676, and had,
11. MARK, b. May 9, 1628;
m. 1st, Anna Cooke;
m. 2nd, Jane Prence.
12. MARY, b. about 1630;
m. Thomas Paine.
13. SARAH, b. about 1632;
m. William Walker.
14. JOSEPH, b. about 1634;
m. Mary ——.
15. SEPHEN, b. about 1636;
m. 1st, Susanna (Deane) Rogers, m. 2nd, Mary Bigford.
16. JOHN, b. about 1638;
m. Mary Walden.

17. ELIZABETH, b. about 1640; m. Thomas Rogers.
18. JABEZ, b. about 1642; m. Elizabeth Smith.
19. RUTH, b. about 1644; m. John Cole.
20. A child; no further record.

III — Damaris, m. Jacob Cooke. (Issue; see Cooke family).

IV — Deborah, m. April 23, 1646, Andrew Ring, d. Feb. 22, 1693-4, and had,

21. ELIZABETH, b. April 19, 1652; m. William Mayo.
22. WILLIAM, b. 1653; m. Hannah Sherman.
23. ELEAZER, b. ——; m. Mary Shaw.
24. MARY, b. ——; m. John Morton.
25. DEBORAH.
26. SUSANNA.
27. SAMUEL, b. ——, (Not named in father's will.)

* * * * * *

JOHN HOWLAND:

I — Desire, d. Dec. 13, 1683; m. 1643, John Gorham d. Feb. 5, 1676, and had,

1. DESIRE, b. April 2, 1644; m. John Hawes.
2. TEMPERANCE, b. May 5, 1646; m. 1st, Edward Sturgis, m. 2nd, Thomas Baxter.
3. ELIZABETH, b. April 2, 1648; m. Joseph Hallett.
4. JAMES, b. April 28, 1650; m. Hannah Huckins.
5. JOHN, b. Feb. 20, 1652; m. Mary Otis.
6. JOSEPH, b. Feb. 16, 1654; m. Sarah Sturgis.
7. JABEZ, b. Aug. 3, 1656; m. Hannah (Sturgis) Gray.
8. MERCY, b. Jan. 20, 1658; m. George Denison.
9. LYDIA, b. Nov. 16, 1661; m. John Thacher.

10. HANNAH, b. Nov. 28, 1663; m. Joseph Whelden.

11. SHUBAEL, b. Oct. 21, 1667; m. Puella Hussey.

II — John, m. Dec. 26, 1651, Mary Lee, and had,

12. MARY, b. 1653; m. John Allyn.

13. ELIZABETH, b. May 17, 1655; m. John Bursley.

14. ISAAC, b. Nov. 25, 1659; m. Ann Taylor.

15. HANNAH, b. May 15, 1661; m. Jonathan Crocker.

16. MERCY, b. Jan. 21, 1663; m. Joseph Hamlin.

17. LYDIA, b. Jan. 9, 1665; m. Joseph Jenkins.

18. EXPERIENCE, b. July 28, 1668.

19. ANNE, b. Sept. 9, 1670; m. Joseph Crocker.

20. SHUBAEL, b. Sept. 30, 1672; m. Mercy Blossom.

21. JOHN, b. Dec. 31, 1674; m. 1st, Abigail Crocker, m. 2nd, Mary Crocker.

III — Jabez, d. between May 14, 1708 and Feb. 21, 1712; m. Bethiah Thacher, d. Dec. 19, 1725. and had,

22. JABEZ, b. Nov. 15, 1669; m. Patience Stafford.

23. JOHN, b. Jan. 15, 1673; d. y.

24. BETHIAH, b. June 3, 1674; d. 1676.

25. JOSIAH, b. Aug. 6, 1676; m. Yetmercy Shove.

26. JOHN, b. July 26, 1679; prob. d. unmarried.

27. JUDAH, b. May 7, 1683; d. y.

28. SETH, b. Jan 5, 1685; d. y.

29. SAMUEL, b. May 16, 1686; m. 1st, Abigail Cary, m. 2nd, prob. Mrs. Rachel Allen.

30. EXPERIENCE, b. May 19, 1687; d. y.

31. JOSEPH, b. Oct. 14, 1692; m. Bathsheba Cary.

32. ELIZABETH, b. ——;
m. Nathan Townsend.

IV — Hope, d. Jan. 8, 1683; m. 1646 John Chipman, b. about 1614, d. April 7, 1708, and had,

33. ELIZABETH, b. June 24, 1647;
m. Hosea Joyce.
34. HOPE, b. Aug. 31, 1652;
m. 1st, John Huckins,
m. 2nd, Jonathan Cobb.
35. LYDIA, b. Dec. 25, 1654;
m. John Sargent.
36. JOHN, b. March 2, 1657; d. y.
37. HANNAH, b. Jan. 14, 1659;
m. Thomas Huckins.
38. SAMUEL, b. April 15, 1661;
m. Sarah Cobb.
39. RUTH, b. Dec. 31, 1662;
m. Eleazer Crocker.
40. BETHIAH, b. July 1, 1666;
m. Shubael Dimock.
41. MERCY, b. Feb. 6, 1668;
m. Nathan Skiff.
42. JOHN, b. March 3, 1671;
m. 1st, Mary Skiff,
m. 2nd, Elizabeth (Handley) Russell,
m. 3rd, Hannah Hoxie.
43. DESIRE, b. Feb. 26, 1674;
m. Melatiah Bourne.

V — Lydia, m. James Brown, d. Oct. 29, 1710, and had,

44. JAMES, b. May 4, 1655;
m. Margaret Denison.
45. DOROTHY, b. Aug. 29, 1666;
m. Joseph Kent.
46. JABEZ, b. July 9, 1668;
m. Jane ——.

VI — Ruth, m. Nov. 17, 1664, Thomas Cushman, b. Sept. 16, 1637, d. Aug. 23, 1726, and had,

47. ROBERT, b. Oct. 4, 1665;
m. 1st, Persis ——,
m. 2nd, Prudence Sherman.
48. DESIRE, b. 1668;
prob. m. Samuel Kent.

VII — Hannah, m. July 6, 1661, Jonathan Bosworth, and had,

49. MERCY, b. May 30, 1662.

50. HANNAH, b. Nov. 5, 1663;
m. Nathaniel Jenks.
51. JONATHAN, b. Dec. 24, 1666;
d. 1673.
52. DAVID, b. Sept. 15, 1670;
m. Mary Sturtevant.
53. ELIZABETH, b. June 6, 1665;
d. 1676.
54. JOHN, b. April 6, 1671;
m. Elizabeth Toogood.
55. JABEZ, b. Feb. 14, 1673.
56. ICHABOD, b. March 18, 1676;
m. Sarah Stacy.
57. JONATHAN, b. Sept. 22, 1680;
m. Sarah Rounds.

VIII — Joseph, m. Dec. 7, 1664, Elizabeth Southworth, and had,
58. LYDIA, b. ——, 1665;
m. Jeremiah Thomas.
59. ELIZABETH, b. ——;
m. 1st, Isaac Hamlin,
m. 2nd, Timothy Cannon.
60. MARY, b. ——;
m. George Conant.
61. THOMAS, b. ——;
m. Joanna Cole.
62. JAMES, b. ——;
m. Mary Lothrop.
63. NATHANIEL, b. ——;
m. 1st, Martha Cole,
m. 2nd, Abigail (Churchill) Billington.
64. SARAH, b. 1687.
65. BENJAMIN, b. 1689; d. y.
66. JOSEPH, b. ——; d. y.

IX — Isaac, d. March 9, 1724; m. Elizabeth Vaughn, b. 1652, d. Oct. 29, 1727, and had,
67. SETH, b. Nov. 28, 1677;
m. Elizabeth Delano.
68. ISAAC, b. March 6, 1679;
m. Sarah Thomas.
69. PRISCILLA, b. Aug. 22, 1681;
m. Peter Bennett.
70. ELIZABETH, b. Dec. 2, 1682;
d. y.
71. NATHAN, b. Jan. 17, 1687;
m. Frances Coombs.
72. JAEL, b. Oct. 13, 1688;
m. Nathaniel Southworth.

73. SUSANNAH, b. Oct. 14, 1690; m. Ephraim Wood.
74. HANNAH, b. Oct. 16, 1694; m. John Tinkham.

* * * * * * *

DEGORY PRIEST:

I — Mary, d. about 1689; m. 1630 Phineas Pratt, d. April 19, 1680, and had,

1. JOHN, m. Ann Barker.
2. SAMUEL, m. Mary Barker.
3. DANIEL.
4. PETER.
5. JOSEPH, m. Dorcas Folger.
6. AARON, b. about 1654; m. 1st, Sarah Pratt, m. 2nd, Sarah (Wright) Cummings.
7. MARY, m. (probably) John Swann.
8. MERCY.

II — Sarah, m. John Coombs, and had,

9. FRANCIS, m. 1st, Deborah Morton, m. 2nd, Mary (Barker) Pratt.

(Probably other issue).

* * * * * * * *

THOMAS ROGERS:

I — Joseph, d. 1678; m. Hannah ——, and had,

1. SARAH, b. Aug. 6, 1633; d. y.
2. JOSEPH, b. July 19, 1635; m. Susannah Deane.
3. THOMAS, b. March 29, 1638; m. Elizabeth Snow.
4. ELIZABETH, b. Sept. 29, 1639; m. Jonathan Higgins.
5. JOHN, b. April 3, 1642; m. Elizabeth Twining.
6. MARY, b. Sept. 22, 1644; m. John Finney.
7. JAMES, b. Oct. 18, 1648; m. Mary Paine.
8. HANNAH, b. Aug. 8, 1652.

II — John, d. between Aug. 26, 1691, and Sept. 20, 1692; m. April 16, 1639, Ann Churchman, and had,

9. JOHN, b. 1640;
m. 1st, Elizabeth Pabodie,
m. 2nd, Hannah (Hobart) Brown.
10. ABIGAIL, b. 1641-2;
m. John Richmond.
11. ANNA, m. 1st, John Tisdale,
m. 2nd, Thomas Terry,
m. 3rd, Samuel Williams.
12. ELIZABETH,
m. Nathaniel Williams.

* * * * * * *

HENRY SAMPSON:

I — Elizabeth, m. Robert Sproat, d. between Nov. 23, 1711, and Dec. 11, 1712, and had,
1. MERCY, b. July 15, 1662;
m. Thomas Oldham.
2. ELIZABETH, b. July 1664;
unmarried in 1711.
3. MARY, b. May 1, 1666;
unmarried in 1711.
4. ROBERT, b. April, 1669;
d. 1690, unm.
5. ANNA, b. March, 1671-2;
m. Ebenezer Richmond.
6. JAMES, b. Feb., 1673-4;
m. 1st, Elizabeth Southworth,
m. 2nd, Rachel Dwelly.
7. EBENEZER, b. May, 1676;
m. Experience Hawes.
8. HANNAH, b. Aug., 1680;
m. Ephraim Kean.

II — Hannah, m. March 20, 1665, Josiah Holmes, and had,
9. HANNAH, b. Oct. 11, 1667.
10. DORCAS, b. Aug. 4, 1669.
11. JOSIAH, b. Aug. 13, 1672.
12. MARY, b. Nov. 5, 1674.
13. JOHN, b. May 28, 1678;
m. Susannah (Randall) Stetson
14. WILLIAM, b. Jan. 18, 1679-80; m. Bathsheba Stetson.

III — Dorcas, married Thomas Bonney, and had,
15. EBENEZER, d. Nov. 25, 1712;
prob. unmarried.
16. THOMAS, m. Sarah Studley.

17. ELIZABETH, m. Ephraim Northcutt.
18. MERCY, m. 1st Nathaniel Delano; m. 2nd, John Curtis.
19. MARY, m. John Mitchell.
20. JOSEPH, m. Margaret Phillips.
21. JOHN, m. 1st, Elizabeth (perhaps Bishop), m. 2nd, Elizabeth Hatch.
22. JAMES, m. Abigail Bishop.
23. WILLIAM, m. 1st, Ann May, m. 2nd, Mehitabel ——.

IV — James, d. between Jan. 10, 1715-16 and July 7, 1718; m. Hannah ——, and had,
24. JAMES, m. Ruth Sawyer.
25. HENRY.
26. JOSEPH; m. Sarah Sampson.
27. ANNE, m. Seubael Smith.
28. PENELOPE, m. Abraham Sampson.
29. SUSANNA, m. Benjamin Hillman.
30. PRISCILLA, m. Samuel Hammond.

V — Stephen, m. Elizabeth ——, and had,
31. BENJAMIN, b. 1686; m. Rebecca Cooke.
32. JOHN, b. Aug. 17, 1688; m. Priscilla Bartlett.
33. Cornelius, d. prob. prior to 1724.
34. HANNAH, m. Robert Tyler.
35. Mary, m. Samuel Thayer.
36. ELIZABETH, m. Jonathan Thayer.
37. DORCAS, m. John Plumley.
38. ABIGAIL, m. George Bruce.

VI — Caleb, m. 1st, Mercy Standish; prob. m. 2nd Jan. 3, 1728-9, Rebecca Stanford.
He had,
39. DAVID, m. Mary Chaffin.
40. LORA; m. Benjamin Simmons.
41. RACHEL, m. Moses Smmions.
42. PRISCILLA, b. 1697; d. unm.
43. CALEB, m. Mehitabel Ford.
44. JOSHUA, m. Mary Oakman.

45. JERUSHA, m. Ebenezer Bartlett.
46. RUTH, m. John Fullerton.
47. SARAH, prob d. unm.

* * * * * *

GEORGE SOULE:

I — Mary, m. John Peterson, d. between April 20, 1718, and March 7, 1719-20, and had,
1. JOHN, d. 1690; prob. unm.
2. JOSEPH, m. Mrs. Sarah Doty.
3. BENJAMIN, m. Hannah Wadsworth.
4. JONATHAN, m. Lydia Thacher.
5. DAVID, b. Oct. 1, 1676; d. Sept. 30, 1760, unm.
6. ISAAC, m. Mary Hobart.
7. MARTHA; unm. in 1718.
8. MARY, m. her cousin, Joseph Soule (No. 17).
9. REBECCA, m. John Weston.

II — John, d. about 1707; m. 1st, Rebecca Simmons; m. 2nd, 1678, Esther (Nash) Sampson, b. March 6, 1639, d. Sept. 12, 1735. He had,
10. JOHN, m. Martha Tinkham.
11. AARON, m. Mary Wadsworth.
12. MOSES, m. Mercy Southworth.
13. REBECCA, b. about 1657; m. Edmond Weston.
14. JAMES, b. 1659; m. Lydia Thompson.
15. BENJAMIN, b. 1666; m. Sarah Standish.
16. RACHEL, b. 1662; m. John Cobb.
17. JOSEPH, b. July 31, 1679; m. Mary Peterson (No. 8).
18. ZACHARIAH, d. unm.
19. SARAH, m. Adam Wright.
20. JOSHUA, b. Oct. 12, 1681; m. Joanna Studley.
21. JOSIAH, m. Lydia Delano.

III — George, d. about 1704, m. Deborah ——, and had,
22. WILLIAM, m. Hannah ——.
23. JOHN, d. May 11, 1704.
24. NATHANIEL, m. Mary ——.

25. DEBORAH, unm. in 1709.
26. MARY, m. Joseph Davoll.
27. LYDIA, m. William Brownell.
28. SARAH.
29. GEORGE, m. ——.

IV — Nathaniel, m. Rose ——, and had,
30. NATHANIEL,
m. 1st Meribah Gifford,
m. 2nd, Hannah Macomber.
31. SYLVANUS.
32. JACOB, m. Rebecca Gifford.
33. MILES.

V — Patience, d. March 11, 1705-6; m. Jan. 1666, John Haskell, d. May 15, 1706, and had,
34. JOHN, b. June 11, 1670;
m. Mary Squire.
35. ELIZABETH, b. July 2, 1672;
m. Thomas Drinkwater.
36. WILLIAM, b. June 11, 1674.
37. PATIENCE, b. Feb. 1, 1679;
d. Feb. 14, 1705-6.
38. BETHIAH, b. Jan. 5, 1681.
39. MARY, b. July 4, 1684;
m. Scottoway Clark.
40. JOSIAH, b. June 18, 1686;
m. 1st, Sarah Kennedy,
m. 2nd, Sarah Brayley.
41. SUSANNAH, b. Jan. 15, 1691.

* * * * * *

MYLES STANDISH:

I — Alexander, d. July 6, 1702; m. 1st Sarah Alden; m. 2nd Desire (Doty) (Holmes) Sherman. He had, by his first wife,
1. MYLES, m. Experience Holmes.
2. LORAH, m. Abraham Sampson.
3. LYDIA, m. Isaac Sampson.
4. MERCY, m. Caleb Sampson.
5. ELIZABETH, m. Samuel Delano.
6. SARAH, m. Benjamin Soule.
7. EBENEZER, m. Hannah Sturtevant.

He had, by his second wife,
8. DESIRE, b. May 5, 1689;
m. Nathan Weston.

9. THOMAS, b. Jan. 29, 1690; m. Mary Carver.
10. ICHABOD, b. June 10, 1693; m. Phebe Ring.
11. DAVID; no issue.

II — Josiah, d. March 19, 1690; m. 1st, Dec. 19, 1654, Mary Dingley, d. July 1, 1655; m. 2nd Sarah Allen. He had,

12. JOSIAH, m. Sarah ——.
13. MILES, m. Mehitabel (Cary) Adams.
14. SAMUEL,
    m. 1st, Deborah Gates,
    m. 2nd, Mrs. Hannah Parke.
15. ISRAEL, m. Elizabeth Richards.
16. MARY, m. James Cary.
17. LOIS, m. Hugh Calkins.
18. MEHITABEL.
19. MERCY.

* * * * * * *

RICHARD WARREN:

I — Mary, d. after Feb. 13, 1678; m. about 1628 or 29 Robert Bartlett, d. between Sept. 19 and Oct. 29, 1676, and had,

1. BENJAMIN,
   m. 1st, Susanna Jenny,
   m. 2nd, Sarah Brewster.
2. REBECCA, m. William Harlow.
3. MARY,
   m. 1st, Richard Foster,
   m. 2nd, Jonathan Morey.
4. SARAH, m. Samuel Rider.
5. JOSEPH, b. about 1639; m. Hannah Pope.
6. ELIZABETH, m. Anthony Sprague.
7. MERCY, m. John Ivey.
8. LYDIA, b. June 18, 1648; m. 1st, John Barnaby, m. 2nd, John Nelson.

II — Ann, m. April 19, 1633, Thomas Little, d. March 1671-2, and had,

9. RUTH.
10. HANNAH, m. Stephen Tilden.

11. PATIENCE, b. 1639;
m. Joseph Jones.
12. ISAAC, b. 1646;
m. Bethiah Thomas.
13. MERCY, m. John Sawyer.
14. EPHRAIM, b. May 17, 1650;
m. Mary Sturtevant.
15. THOMAS, unmarried.
16. SAMUEL, b. about 1657;
m. Sarah Gray.

III — Sarah, m. John Cooke. (Issue; see Cooke family).

IV — Elizabeth, d. March 4, 1670; m. about 1635-6, Richard Church, b. about 1608, d. Dec. 27, 1668, and had,
17. ELIZABETH, m. Caleb Hobart
18. JOSEPH, b. 1637-8;
m. Mary Tucker.
19. BENJAMIN, b. 1639-40;
m. Alice Southworth.
20. NATHANIEL, m. Sarah Barstow.
21. CALEB,
m. 1st, Joanna Sprague,
m. 2nd, Deborah ——,
m. 3rd, Rebecca Scotto.
22. CHARLES, d. Oct. 30, 1659;
23. PRISCILLA, b. 1645;
prob. m. 1st, Samuel Talbot,
prob. m. 2nd, John Irish.
24. ABIGAIL, b. June 22, 1657 (?); m. Samuel Thaxter.
25. RICHARD, d. y.
26. HANNAH, bapt. Aug. 8, 1657.
27. SARAH, m. James Burrows.
28. LYDIA, went to France.
29. DEBORAH, b. Jan. 27, 1656-7 (?); d. Jan. 17, 1690.
30. MARY, d. April 30, 1662.

V — Abigail, m. Nov. 8, 1639, Anthony Snow, d. between Aug. 8 and Nov. 12, 1692, and had,
31. JOSIAH, m. Rebecca Barker.
32. LYDIA, m. Stephen Skiff (prob).
33. SARAH, b. June, 1651;
m. Joseph Waterman.
34. ABIGAIL, m. Michael Ford.

35. ALICE, b. Jan. 18, 1657; m. Robert Barker.
36. A son, b. March 25, 1665. (Name obliterated.)

VI — Nathaniel, d. between July 16 and October 21, 1667; m. Nov. 19, 1645, Sarah Walker d. Nov. 24, 1700, and had,

37. RICHARD, b. 1646; m. Sarah ——.
38. JABEZ, b. 1647; d. 1701, unm.
39. SARAH, b. Aug. 29, 1649; m. John Blackwell.
40. HOPE, b. March 7, 1651-2; prob. d. unm.
41. JANE, b. Jan. 10, 1652-3; m. Benjamin Lombard.
42. ELIZABETH, b. Sept. 15, 1654; m. William Green.
43. ALICE, b. Aug. 2, 1656; m. Thomas Gibbs.
44. MERCY, b. Feb. 20, 1657-8; m. Jonathan Delano.
45. NATHANIEL, b. March 10, 1661-2; m. Phebe Murdock. (No issue).
46. MARY, b. March 9, 1660-1; prob. d. y.
47. JOHN, b. Oct. 23, 1663; d. y.
48. JAMES, b. Nov. 7, 1665; m. Sarah Doty.

VII — Joseph, d. May 4, 1689; m. about 1651-2, Priscilla Faunce b. about 1634, d. May 15, 1707, and had,

49. MERCY, b. Sept, 23, 1653; m. John Bradford.
50. ABIGAIL, b. March 15, 1655; d. y.
51. JOSEPH, b. Jan. 8, 1657; m. Mehitabel Wilder.
52. PATIENCE, b. March 15, 1660; m. Samuel Lucas.
53. ELIZABETH, b. Aug. 15, 1662; m. Josiah Finney.
54. BENJAMIN, b. Jan. 8, 1670; m. 1st, Hannah Morton, m. 2nd, Esther (Barnes) Cushman.

* * * * * * *

WILLIAM WHITE:

I — Resolved, d. about 1680; m. 1st Nov. 5, 1640, Judith Vassal, d. 1670; m. 2nd Oct. 5, 1674, Mrs. Abigail Lord. He had,

1. WILLIAM, b. April 18, 1642.
2. JOHN, b. March 11, 1644.
3. SAMUEL, b. March 13, 1646; m. Rebecca ——.
4. RESOLVED, b. Nov. 12, 1647; d. 1670.
5. ANNA, b. June 5, 1649; m. John Hayward.
6. ELIZABETH, b. June 4, 1652; m. prob. Obadiah Wheeler.
7. JOSIAH, b. Sept. 29, 1654; m. Remember Reed.
8. SUSANNAH, b. 1656; m. Uriah Johnson.

II — Peregrine, d. July 20, 1704; m. about 1647, Sarah Bassett, d. July 20, 1711, and had,

9. DANIEL, b. 1649; m. Hannah Hunt.
10. SARAH, m. Thomas Young.
11. MERCY, m. William Sherman.
12. JONATHAN, b. June 4, 1658; m. Esther Nickerson.
13. PEREGRINE, b. 1660; m. 1st, Susannah ——, m. 2nd, Mary ——.
14. SYLVANUS, m. Deborah ——. (No issue).

* * * * * * *

EDWARD WINSLOW:

I — Josiah, d. Dec. 18, 1680; m. 1657 Penelope Pelham, d. Dec. 7, 1703, and had,

1. A daughter, b. 1658; d. y.
2. ELIZABETH, b. April 8, 1654; m. Stephen Burton.
3. EDWARD, b. May 14, 1667; d. y.
4. ISAAC, b. 1670; m. Sarah Wensley.

II — Elizabeth, d. after 1694; m. 1st, Robert Brooks; m. 2nd, Sept. 22, 1669, George Curwen, b. Dec. 10, 1610, d. Jan. 3, 1684-5. She had,

5. JOHN, d. Dec. 25, 1687.
6. PENELOPE, b. Aug. 2, 1670; m. Josiah Walcott.
7. SUSANNA, b. Dec. 10, 1672; m. 1st, Edward Lynde, m. 2nd, —— Wadsworth.
8. GEORGE, b. 1674; d. before 1684.

(The End.)

A NATIONAL REGISTRY OF HUMAN PEDIGREES

From Articles of Incorporation of the Bureau of Military and Civic Achievement as provided in the Code of Laws enacted by Congress and approved by the President of the United States:

The term of its existence shall be in perpetuity.

The particular business and object of the organization will be

(a) To discover, collect, and perpetuate genealogical and historical data that relate to American families, and to provide a National registry of their pedigrees and coat armor in conjunction with the military and civic achievements of such registrant families.

(b) To render such data more readily available and the better to assure its preservation in perpetuity, to publish the same in chart and narrative forms for private archives and for filing in State and National Libraries; and to publish or promote such other works or publications as may be deemed advisable in furtherance of the objects and purposes herein set forth.

(c) To promote genealogical research and compilation of their pedigrees and vital statistics among American families for their historical and eugenic value.

(d) To inculcate that spirit of pride and devotion which every one owes to his family.

* * * * *

NOTE:

1 — A limited number of the pedigrees registered in the Historical Rolls of the Bureau of Military and Civic Achievement in its archives at Washington will, on arrangement of terms, be admitted to publication in a genealogical work to be issued in periodic volumes to the public archives of the states of the Union for filing permanently in

their State Archives, History Commissions, etc., and in the Library of Congress among its permanent collections. This multiplicity of depositories of safe keeping will assure preservation of the volumes in perpetuity, and make them locally available in every State so that they may be read a thousand or more years from now, similarly as we look back for names of our ancestors on the Rolls of Battle Abbey, or in the Domesday Book.

The work of the Bureau has a most important bearing upon the dignity and well-being of the nation. So much so that many people have said it ought to have been started a hundred or two years earlier.

2—A Certificate of Achievement in the form of an Ancestral Chart is granted to families whose data are approved for publication. Their certification and approval for publication is also an evidence of the genuineness of the pedigree and distinctions claimed.

Families entitled to Coat Armor may by arrangement have their Arms blazoned (described) in the Yearbook, and portrayed on a Chart Pedigree.

Registration blanks sent on receipt of two cents to cover postage.

BUREAU OF MILITARY AND CIVIC ACHIEVEMENT
Washington, D. C.

PICKING UP THE MISSING LINKS

Running Out and Connecting Up Your Lines.

There seems to be an innate desire in mankind to know whence we come, and to collect and preserve data relating to our ancestry. Some may affect to regard this question with indifference, but those with a good pedigree have a natural pride of it.

The only way we can leave a history of ourselves, is to leave to posterity data telling of our origin — who we are, and what we did. Information that we do not have ourselves can only be had by searching it out.

To meet that contingency efficiently this Bureau maintains a corps of experienced genealogists, and through its Department of Extension picks up missing links, connects up and runs out lines to predetermined periods, or traces them to the remotest ancestor in this and foreign countries.

Coats of Arms are also searched for, and emblazoned.

Charges for research and heraldic work; preparation of chart pedigrees; publication of narrative pedigrees, and preparation of application papers for hereditary society membership, will be mailed on receipt of description of data to be furnished as a basis for the work desired.